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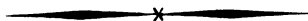
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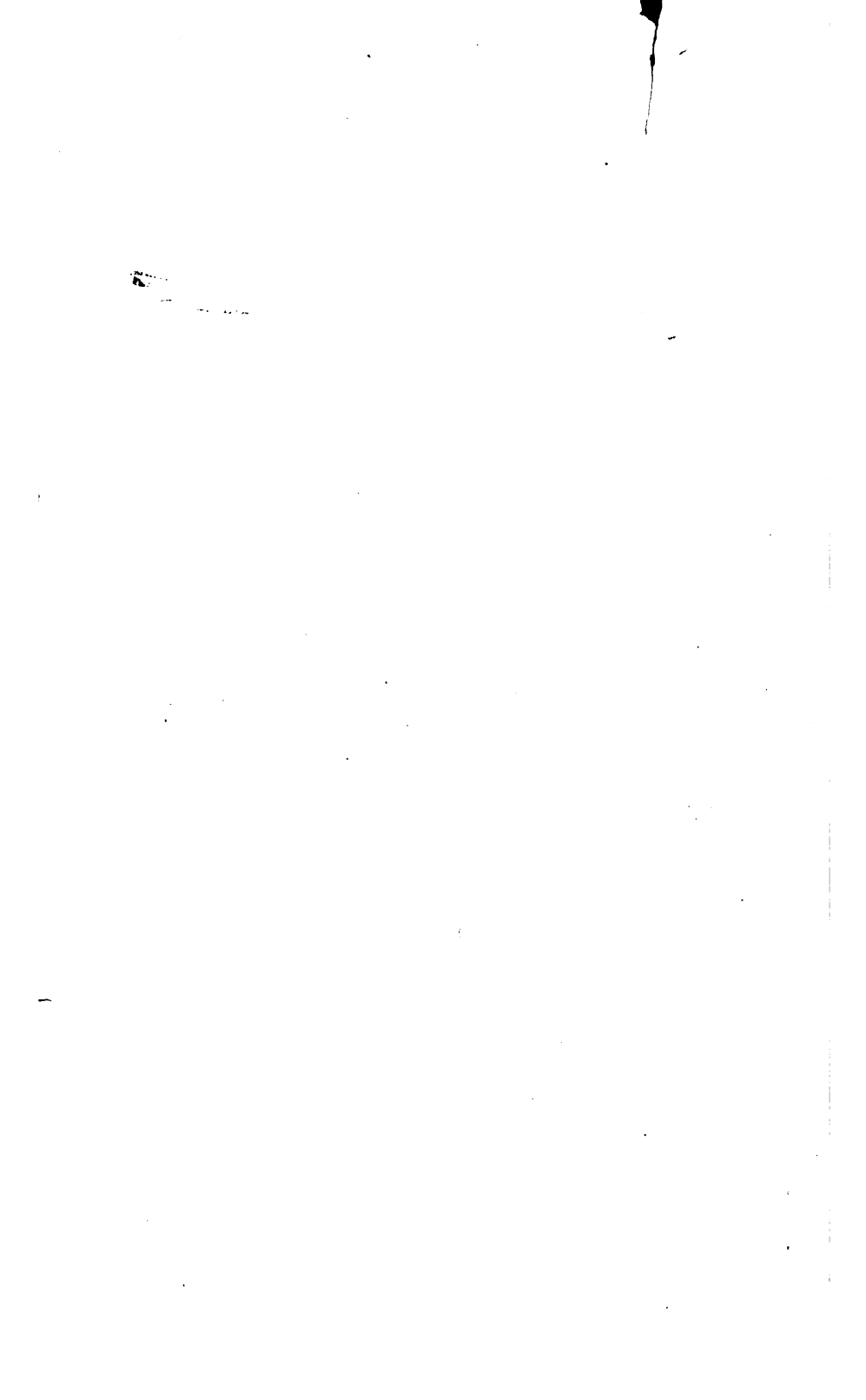
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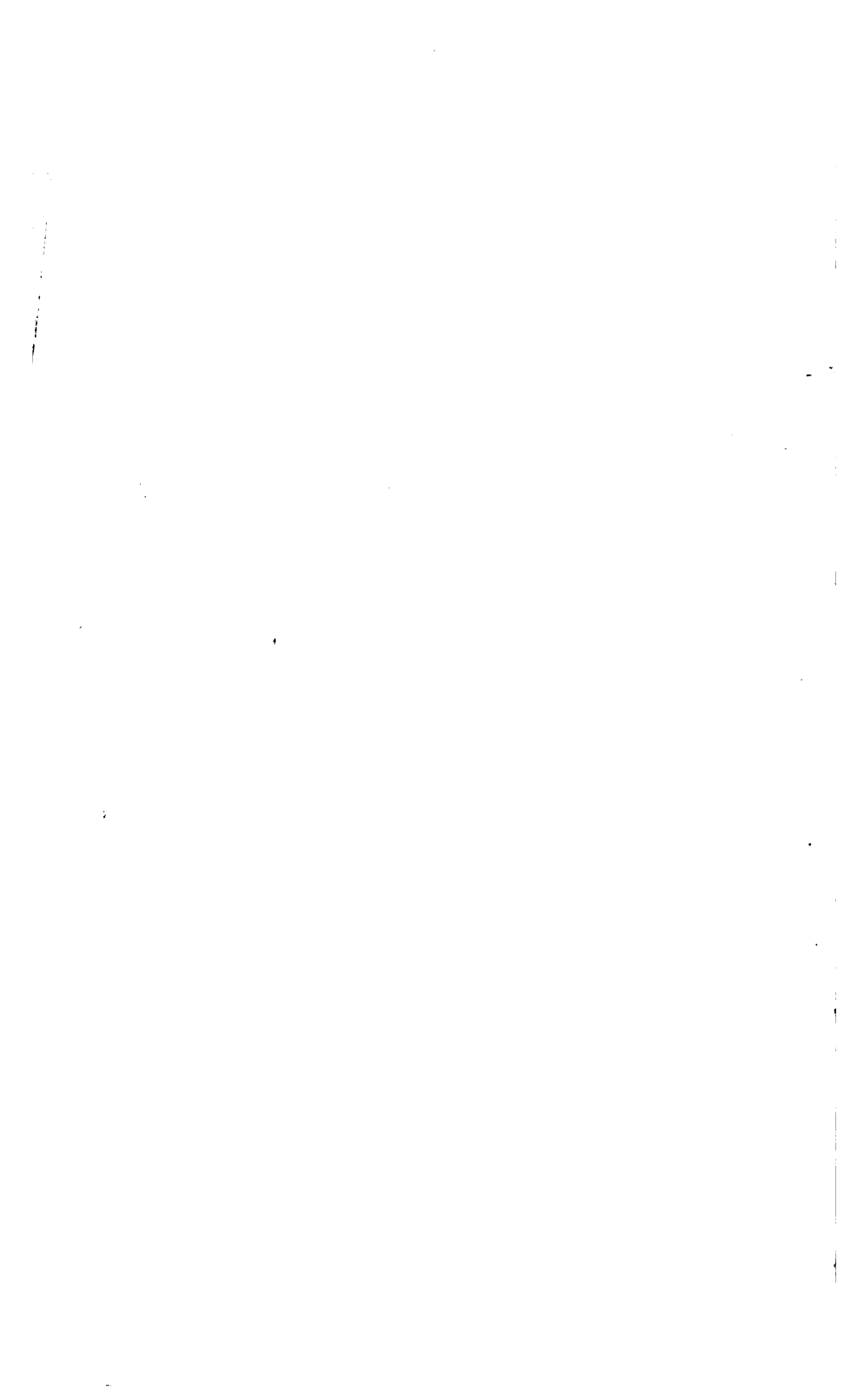


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INTO VIRGINIA.



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TOGETHER WITH THE MANNERS AND
CUSTOMES OF THE PEOPLE.

GATHERED AND OBSERVED AS WELL BY THOSE WHO WENT
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WILLIAM STRACHEY, GENT.,
THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE COLONY.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE
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R. H. MAJOR, ESQ.,
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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE prophetic quotation which the author of this work has placed upon his title-page, seems to indicate an anticipation on his part, that his manuscript would one day be printed; and its interesting date and curious details, have given the Editor reason to congratulate himself upon the fact, that the Hakluyt Society is the "generation" prognosticated.

Two copies of the manuscript, both in the author's handwriting (for there are a sufficient number of instances of it in the British Museum to prove its identity), are all that have come under the Editor's notice; one in the Sloane Collection, No. 1622, in the British Museum, from which the present publication has been transcribed; and the other among the Ashmolean Manuscripts, No. 1754. The only difference between these two, is an alteration in the title of the second book, and the addition to the titles, both of the first and second books, of the motto of *Alget qui non ardet*. The Museum copy is dedicated to Sir Francis Bacon, "Lord High Chancellor"; and that in the Ashmolean Library to Sir Allen Apsley, "Purveyor to His Majesties Navie Royall."

That the author was a man of an intelligent and observing mind will be evident from a perusal of the following pages. That he was a man of considerable learning will be likewise evident; although it must be acknowledged that he was not without a tincture of the pedantry common to the age, which has led him occasionally to illustrate his descriptions by the employment of classical expressions, and those of such an unusual character, that the Editor has been compelled, in his duty to the reader, to make annotations apparently but little suited to the general tenour of the narrative. This defect, however, it is hoped, will be found to be amply compensated by the intrinsic merit of the work itself, especially when the date at which it was written is taken into consideration.

R. H. M.

INTRODUCTION.

THE EDITOR was extremely desirous of commencing this introduction with a short biographical notice of William Strachey, the author of the following pages ; but notwithstanding that he has used his best exertions, he has been unsuccessful in discovering anything more respecting him, than such few points as connect him immediately with the subject of the work itself.¹ The place and date of his birth, as well as those of his death, are unknown. That he was a person of importance in Virginia we shall hereafter show. But in the absence of sufficient materials to make even the

¹ The Editor having communicated with Sir Henry Strachey, Bart., of Sutton Court, Somersetshire, as to the possibility of his connexion with the Strachey of this MS., was kindly permitted, through the obliging medium of Edward Strachey, Esq. of Clifton, and William Strachey, Esq. of London, to inspect the family pedigree. From this it appeared that there was a William Strachey of Saffron Walden, who was married in 1588, and was alive in 1620, a range of years including the period of our MS. : but no mention was made of his having been to Virginia. It is remarkable, however, that his grandson of the same name is especially referred to as having emigrated to that place. It would appear not improbable that the former of them may be identical with the Virginian adventurer, and that the latter may have gone to America under the influence of his grandfather's distinguished connexion with the colony. Mention is made twice or thrice in various of the Harleian MSS. of a William Strachey of Saffron Walden about the same period.

slightest biographical sketch, the Editor has thought it better simply to introduce his name at those points of the following introductory outline of the progress of the colony, where it naturally falls in with the thread of the narrative.

It is presumed that the two following questions will most naturally suggest themselves, upon the perusal of our title-page. First, what is the period of this *Historie of Travaile*? and secondly, what degree of interest does the date of the narrative involve, with reference to the history of the country of which it treats?

The period referred to in our title-page, ranges over 1610, 1611, and 1612; and if we call to mind that the first definite settlement of Virginia, or in other words, the first permanent colonization of America by the British, took place only in 1607, it must be evident that this period is one of the highest interest to all who read with pleasure what Hakluyt calls "the industrious labors and painefull travels of our countrymen."

The title of the English to the soil of which we eventually gained possession, as well as the description of the principal previous visitations of our countrymen to the western coasts of America—both points forming suitable introductory matter to a work like the present—have been dealt with by the author himself, all quaintly and briefly though it be, in the succeeding pages. His "premonition to the reader" leaves all allusion to the first question unnecessary; and the second book (which might more correctly have been the first instead of the second), embodies the narrative of those earlier voyages, which though un-

successful in effecting settlements, paved the way to the ultimate colonization of the country.

Many attempts at this great object had been made by the English, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Martin Frobisher, and finally under patents granted by Elizabeth in the early part of her reign to Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, but without any permanently favourable result.

These several voyages, however, though falling short of the purpose for which they were originated, were not unproductive of interesting narratives (brief, it is true, but unitedly too lengthy even for a digested repetition here), which may yet, perhaps, be appropriately enumerated for the reader's advantage for reference.

G. Best. Discourse of the late voyages and of discoveries for the finding of a passage to Cathaya by the nord-weast, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher, general, with a particular card thereunto adjoined of Meta Incognita, 4to. *London, Bynneman, 1578.*

Reprinted in Hakluyt.

A prayse and report of Maister Martyne Forboisher voyage to Meta Incognita, now spoken of by Thomas Churchyard, gentl. Imprinted for Andrew Maunsell in Paules Churchyard, at the sign of the Parrot, 8vo. *s. l. (circ. 1580.)*

R. Hakluyt. Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America and the Islands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Bretons, 4to. *London, 1582.*¹

A discourse upon the intended voyage to the hithermoste parts of America, written by Captaine Carleill for the better inducement to satisfie such merchauntes, as in disburseing

¹ This rare book, the first publication of Hakluyt, is now in progress of preparation for the Hakluyt Society, under the editorial care of J. Winter Jones, Esq. of the British Museum.

their money, do demaunde forwith a present returne of gaine; albeit their saied particular disbursement are in such slender sommes as are not worth the speaking of, 4to. 1583.

Reprinted in Hakluyt.

A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia, &c., discovered by the English Colony there seated by Sir Richard Greinville, Knight, in the yeere 1585. . . by Thomas Hariot, 4to. *London*, 1588.

Hakluyt. The principal navigations, voyages and discoveries made by the English nation, folio. 1589.

Reprinted with additions in 1599.

De Bry. America, sive navigationes in Indiam Occidentalem. *Francofurti*, 1590.

A brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia, [being the first part of the preceding collection which was not continued in English] T. de Bry, 4to. *Frankfort*, 1590.

A briefe and true relation of the discovery of the north part of Virginia . . . by Captains Gilbert, Gosnold, &c., J. Brereton, 4to. goth. *London*, 1602.

A prosperous voyage in the discovery of the north part of Virginia, by Capt. G. Waymouth, written by G. Rosier, a gentleman employed in the voyage, 4to. goth. *London*, 1605.

Nova Britannia offering most excellent fruits by planting in Virginia, 4to. 1609.

Virginia richly valued by the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour, &c., written by a Portuguese gentleman of the city of Elvas, and translated by R. Hakluyt, 4to. 1609.

At the time of the death of Queen Elizabeth, one hundred and eleven years subsequent to the great discovery of the Western World by Columbus, the Spaniards, on whose behalf his discovery had been made, were the sole permanent settlers in this wide and wealthy continent. In 1606, the French began to make settlements in Canada and Acadie, now Nova Scotia, but it was not till 1607 that the enterprise, which was finally

destined to lay the foundation of British occupancy of American soil, was undertaken. Twenty-three years had expired since the patent had been granted to Sir Walter Raleigh to discover and take possession, with little less than royal privileges, of remote heathen and barbarous lands, hitherto not actually possessed by any Christian prince;] and yet not an acre of American soil had hitherto become the property of the English.

The attainder of this enterprising and highly gifted man would seem to have been, by some inexplicable decree of Providence, a signal for the commencement of that success which had been denied to nearly thirty several voyages, the furnishing of which had cost him a fortune and the persevering exertions of the best portion of an energetic and influential life. It was shortly after this period, viz., A° 1605-6, that Richard Hakluyt, the "*presidium et dulce decus*" of our society, to whom, as Robertson justly remarks, "England is more indebted for its American possessions than to any man of that age", used influential arguments with various gentlemen of condition, to induce them to present a petition to King James, to grant them patents for the settlement of two plantations on the Coast of North America. This petition issued in the concession of a charter, bearing date the 10th of April, 1606, by which the tract of country lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude was to be divided into nearly equal portions, between two companies; that occupying the southern portion to be called the first colony (subsequently named the London Company), and that occupying the northern, to be called the second colony (subsequently named the Plymouth Company). The patent also vested in each

colony a right of property over fifty miles of the land, extending along the coast each side of the point of first occupation, and a hundred miles inland. The chief adventurers in the London or South Virginian Company, with which as the first settlement we now have principally to do, were Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and Edward Maria Wingfield. The command of the expedition was committed to Captain Newport.

By a strange caprice of the king—who, with a pedantry in keeping with his general character and little consonant with the wisdom necessary for the direction of important enterprises, had undertaken the personal dictation of the instructions for the colony, and the appointment of the members of the council,—these instructions were sent carefully sealed up and enclosed in a box not to be opened till after the arrival in Virginia. The result of this absurdity was, that the main body of the adventurers knew not to whom they had to look as president, so that in the absence of specified authority, the preponderance of personal talents or energy in any individual among their officers, would naturally attract the attention and respect of those who felt the need of an able and determined leader. Such an one presented himself in Captain John Smith, who had already distinguished himself by feats of surpassing skill and daring in the wars of Transylvania and Hungary.

It was in April 1607, that the expedition approached the shores of America, and after encountering a violent tempest and being driven out of their reckoning, came in sight of the magnificent bay of Chesapeake. Upon opening the box containing the instructions

drawn up by King James, the name of Captain Smith was found mentioned in the list of council. The members mentioned, were to choose their president for one year, who, in conjunction with the council, was to govern the colony. By whatever motive actuated, it appears that the council endeavoured, under the most trifling pretences, to exclude Smith from a seat amongst them, and it was only by the judicious and earnest exhortations of Mr. Hunt, the chaplain, that the royal authority was in this respect deferred to, and he was admitted into the council. His prudence and courage subsequently produced effects which obtained for him, as is well known to every reader of American history, a patriarchal rank among British colonists in America. It is not our business here to enter into a repetition of the oft-repeated story of his chivalrous conduct among the Indians, of his steady determination and politic endurance, when having to contend with the disaffection of his own people, nor of the romantic tale of his own life and Englishmen's lives, for his sake, being saved once and again by the personal devotion of the generous but ill-requited Pocahontas. Suffice it to say, that by this expedition, and prominently under the management of Captain Smith, the first permanent settlement of the English in America was effected in the construction of a town on the river Powhatan, now called James' River, and which they named James Town, in honour of the king.

Misfortune, however, seemed to haunt the infant colony. The storehouse at James Town caught fire accidentally, and was consumed.¹ Although the

¹ See Stith's *Virginia*, 59; and Smith's *Virginia*, 52. By this fire, Mr. Hunt, the chaplain, lost his library and all that he possessed.

colonists were abstemious,¹ yet an over-amount of toil in the extremity of the heat, together with unwholesome food and comfortless lodging, produced considerable mortality amongst them; which again was increased in the winter of the following year 1608, by the remarkable severity of a frost, which has been the subject of notice by several writers of the period. In the summer of this latter year, Captain Smith, whose wisdom and vigour had by this time gained him the presidency of the colony, made an exploratory excursion amongst the great rivers which fall into the Chesapeake, and drew up a map (a fac-simile of which accompanies this volume, frequent reference being made to it by our author), together with a short description of the country and of the natives, which he transmitted to the council in England. This was subsequently published under the title of "A map of Virginia, with a description of the countrey, &c., written by Captaine Smith, whereunto is annexed the proceedings of those Colonies since their first departure from England, &c., &c., taken faithfully as they were written, out of the writings of Doctor Russell, Tho. Studley, &c., &c., and the relations of divers other diligent observers then present there, and now many of them in England. By W. Strachey." Oxford, 1612, 4to. A considerable portion of this small work has been adopted by Strachey, and interwoven into his own narrative in the following MS.

In the interval Captain Newport, who had returned to England, arrived with a second supply for the colony at Virginia, and brought over with him seventy persons, many of whom were men of rank and distinction. It

¹ See Smith, fo. 44, and Purchas, v. 1706-1707.

is to be deplored, however, that gold, and not the permanent establishment of the colony, appears to have been the predominating incentive; inasmuch as, according to Chalmers, the company's instructions which were sent with this expedition, imperatively required that the interior should be explored for gold; and threatened that, in the event of failure, the colonists "should be allowed to remain as banished men in Virginia." Although these hopes of the company were not realized, the confirmation which the narratives of the more recent adventurers gave to the accounts of those who had preceded them, excited an enthusiasm that led to the best results at this very critical period. Individuals of the highest rank, tempted by the descriptions of the extent and fertility of the country, and induced, through the medium of commendatory pamphlets, to believe that an enterprise on a more extensive scale would completely nullify the obstacles which had hitherto stood in the way, obtained from the king a new charter, in which he was prevailed upon to relinquish some of those claims of sovereignty, which in the former patent had been so uncompromisingly reserved. By this charter, the lands which had formerly been conveyed only in trust were now granted in absolute property. The principal restrictive clauses comprised the administration of the oath of supremacy to all emigrants, the exclusive establishment of the Church of England, with an especial veto against Roman Catholics.¹

It is in this second patent, which exists at the present day in the state paper office, that the first mention occurs,

¹ See *Nova Britannia*, by R. J. London, 1609.

which we have been able to light upon, of the name of our author as William Strachey, gentleman. Copies of it are preserved in Stith's *Virginia*, appendix No. 2; in Smith's *Virginia*, fol., where the names are alphabetically arranged; and in Hazard's *Historical Collection*, vol. i. fol. 58-72.¹ Thomas, 11th Lord Delawarr, was therein appointed governor for life; Sir Thomas Gates was appointed lieutenant governor; Sir George Somers, admiral; and Christopher Newport, vice admiral. Seven ships, attended by two small ketches, were equipped with five hundred emigrants for the colony. Lord Delawarr did not, himself, leave England immediately, but delegated the command, in the meantime, to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, and it is interesting to notice, in connexion with the subsequent events of the voyage, a curious circumstance related by Smith in his *Virginia*, p. 89.

As each of these officers held a commission which entitled him to recall the commission previously granted for the government of the colony, they agreed, in order to avoid disputes respecting precedence, to sail in one ship. The nine vessels weighed anchor on the 15th of May, 1609; but that in which these officers sailed, was separated, by a tempest of uncommon violence,

¹ It is worthy of mention that George Sandys, the celebrated author of "A Relation of a Journey begun A.D. 1610," whose name is entered in the list of adventurers in this patent, made his translation of Ovid in Virginia, as he himself mentions in his dedication of the edition of 1632 to King Charles, where he says, "It needeth more than a simple denization, being a double stranger sprung from the stock of the ancient Romans, but *bred in the new world, whereof it cannot but participate, especially having wars and tumults to bring it to light, instead of the muses.*"

from the rest of the squadron, and was wrecked upon the Bermudas; but the company, consisting of one hundred and fifty persons, was saved by an act of Providence, often spoken of as most remarkable. Strachey also was in this vessel, and wrote a description of the storm, which is to be found in *Purchas*, vol. iv. fol. 1734.¹ The remainder of the fleet, meanwhile, with the exception of one of the ketches which was lost, had reached James Town on the 11th of August; and in the absence of the commissioned officers, Smith, who had been the practical leader of the principal undertakings of the colony, assumed with justice the virtual presidency. The new comers, however, consisted, as he graphically says at p. 90 of his *Virginia*, "of many unruly gallants, packed hither by their friends to escape ill destinies." These shewed little inclination to obey a man who held no appointed authority over them, and of whose qualities and actions they had had no experience as entitling him to assume a rank unwarranted by written authority. Anarchy soon spread through the colony, but the evils which ensued before long reduced them to the necessity of requesting that protection which the order, consequent upon his influence, would procure them. Good effects immediately resulted from this improved state of affairs; the people built houses, prepared tar and pitch, with various other desiderata for success in their settlement; dug a well, constructed a block-house, and

¹ This description was supposed by Malone to have been the foundation of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, and there is, in the British Museum, a small octavo volume, privately printed by him, written for the express purpose of substantiating his opinion. The idea has been however completely controverted by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, in a pamphlet also privately printed. London, 1859, 8vo.

laid out in cultivation some thirty or forty acres of ground.¹ Smith also made exertions to fix two advantageous settlements at Nandsamund and at the falls of James River. Companies, of one hundred and twenty each, were detached for these separate localities, but both of them imprudently offended the Indians and lost a great number of their men. It was on his return from the latter place, that Captain Smith received a severe accident from the explosion of a bag of gunpowder, which dreadfully mangled his person, and drove him suffering with extreme torture to England; disgusted with the unfair opposition and the difficulties which he had met with in a colony that had been so greatly indebted to him, and to which he never afterwards returned. By his departure the authority, which kept the Indians in awe, was removed, and the English, now undisciplined, became an easy prey to their revenge or jealousy. Captain² Sickelmore, who bore the pseudonym of Ratcliffe, imprudently venturing himself with thirty men, for the purposes of trade, within the power of the king Powhatan, was killed together with his people. These various losses, combined with the heedless waste of provisions which this reckless band had exhibited, reduced the four hundred and ninety persons which were left in the colony at Captain Smith's departure, within the space of six months, to only sixty. This fearful period was called "the starving time."³

Meanwhile Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, who had been wrecked on the Bermudas,

¹ See Stith, fo. 97.

² See Stith, 116; Keith, fo. 120.

³ See Smith's *Virginia*, fo. 105-106; Chalmers, vol. i. fo. 30; and Stith, fo. 110.

employed the winter in forming a settlement there and constructing¹ two small vessels, in which they set sail on the 10th of May 1610, and arrived at James Town on the 23rd of the same month. To their intense disappointment, in lieu of a numerous and flourishing colony, they found the small remnants of the large expedition with which they had started from England, in the last stage of wretchedness and famine. No hope was left for the rescue of the miserable settlers but an immediate return to England. It was at this critical juncture that, on the 6th of June, every preparation being made, the whole colony was on board and actually descending James River on their return voyage, when they met a long boat announcing the arrival of Lord Delawarr, with three ships, one hundred and fifty men, and a plentiful supply of provisions, to take the command. This apparently special interposition of Providence, thus bringing not only life but good hope for the future to men in an almost desperate condition, aided by the circumstance, that the government was now invested in one, over whose deliberations there could be no control, and with whom there could consequently be no rivalry, caused them all to return with cheerfulness to James Town, and resume with steady obedience the resettlement of the colony. The account of Lord Delawarr's arrival is given by Strachey, in *Purchas*, vol. iv. fol. 1754, as well as in a letter addressed by his lordship to the patentees in England; which the editor has discovered amongst the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum, and has added to this introduction by way of appendix. This letter would appear for several reasons to have

¹ See Keith, fo. 120; Stith, fo. 115.

been indited by Strachey himself; the first reason is that both it and Strachey's description mention, in the enumeration of the appointments made upon Lord Delawarr's arrival, that of William Strachey as secretary and recorder, an office which would in all probability entail on him the dictation of the letter in question: in the second place, the diction of the letter and the description in *Purchas*, contain passages repeated almost verbatim; and thirdly, the date and address of the letter are supplied in Strachey's hand-writing, which would seem to imply that it was written for him by a scribe, and finally completed by him in his official position as secretary. It is signed by his lordship, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Percie, F. Henman, and William Strachey. This letter, dated, "James Town, June 7th, 1610", embodies not only the description of his lordship's outward voyage and his arrival, but the events which ensued in the intervening period.

Under his enlightened and beneficent auspices, the colony soon assumed a wholesome and active appearance. Every man had his own duty to do, and officers were appointed to see that duty done; and it was not long before the disturbances and confusion which had been the natural consequence of disaffection and revolt, were succeeded by the happy fruits of peaceful industry and order. While discipline, and the worthy example together with the rank of the governor, were producing this favourable effect upon the colony at Virginia, Lord Delawarr had the prudence to dispatch Sir George Somers and Captain Argol to the Bermudas for supplies of provisions; favourable accounts having been brought thence by the officers whom he had sent in advance in 1609. The expedition was unfortunate.

Argol being separated from his companion, made his way for New England and finally returned to Virginia; and Sir George Somers, though he reached the Bermudas, was so exhausted, being now above sixty years of age, with the toil of the journey, that he sunk under his fatigues and died soon after his arrival. Short intervals of relief to the colony seemed thus only to be succeeded by depressing misfortunes. The excellent Lord Delawarr, whose virtues, rank, and talents, had promised the best results for Virginia, was seized (as is shown by his own *Relation*, published, London, 1611, 4to.) with a severe ague, followed by a flux, which threatened entirely to destroy his health. He was, therefore, compelled to relinquish the anxieties of his office and return home. He set sail on the 28th of March 1611, leaving Sir George Percy in the command of the colony. The departure of Lord Delawarr immediately opened the door to anarchy, and its natural consequence, adversity; but Sir Thomas Dale arriving soon after, in the month of May, with a fresh supply of emigrants, and provisions for a whole year, matters again assumed a more prosperous appearance. It is to be presumed, that Strachey did not accompany his lordship to England, although the editor has not been able to ascertain the precise date of the secretary's return. That he was in London in 1612 is certain, from his own statement in the "Address to His Majestie's Councill for the colony of Virginia Britannia", prefixed to his "Laws for Virginia"; published, Oxford, 1612, 4to., the dedication of which is signed thus: "From my lodging in the Blacke Friers, at your best pleasures, either to returne unto the colony or to pray for the successe of it here. W. S."

In this year, 1612, a new charter was granted by the king, in behalf of the adventurers. Not only were all the privileges that had been conceded to them confirmed, but a grant was made to them of all the islands lying within three hundred leagues of the coast.¹ The Bermudas, which came within this range, were sold to a number of the company's own members, who gave to the group the name of the Somers Islands, in honour of their lately deceased deputy governor, Sir George Somers.² Sir Thomas Gates arrived in the colony in August 1611, and held the post of governor till 1614. It was during this period that the first hostilities took place between the English and French colonies in America; but the former gained a complete ascendancy, under the bold and vigorous management of Captain Argol.

Sir Thomas Gates was succeeded in the government by Sir Thomas Dale, under whose administration the right to landed property in Virginia was first established. In the year 1615, fifty acres of land were allotted to each emigrant and his heirs, with a grant of a like quantity to every new comer. Early in the year 1616, Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, and the government was consigned to Sir George Yeardly. It was in this year that the English first cultivated tobacco in Virginia. Sir George was succeeded, in 1617, by Captain Argol, the tyranny of whose admi-

¹ For copies of this charter see Hazard's *Hist. Coll.* vol. i. fo. 72-81, and Appendix No. 3 to Stith's *Virginia*.

² The name of these islands has been strangely misconceived by map makers, through a long series of years. Not only have the English almost universally designated them the Summer Islands, but this nomenclature has been ludicrously translated by the French into the "Isles d'Été."

nistration caused great dissatisfaction. The necessities of the colony now demanded the attention of a more active and influential government, and Lord Delawarr, the captain general, was again sent out in the year 1618, with two hundred people, in a vessel of two hundred and fifty tons burthen. He died, however, on the voyage, in or near the bay which bears his name. The great Indian king, Powhatan, whose description is so fully and interestingly given in the following pages, also died this year.

The second book contains the only detailed account which has hitherto been printed of the voyage of Captains George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, and the formation of the colony at Saghadehock, which, like so many of the attempts at colonizing Virginia, proved ultimately abortive.

Upon the death of Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, his son and successor, Sir Francis Popham, who was sent out, and who now likewise became governor of New England, dispatched thither vessels on his account to fish and carry on the fur trade. This adventure proving profitable, gave considerable impulse to colonization, and in the year 1614, Captain John Smith, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the history of Virginia, was sent out at the expense of four English merchants to form a settlement. He sailed on the 3rd of March, and reached Manhegin Island on the 30th of April. He directed his attention principally to the fur trade, as a means of producing what had in the previous attempts been too little attended to, a profitable return for the expenses of the enterprise, and realized by his traffic in this commodity nearly fifteen hundred pounds. He also

laid down, from the observations which he had made, a map of the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, which he presented to Prince Charles, to whom in consequence the country owes the designation of New England, which it has ever since retained. When Captain Smith returned to England, he left one of his ships behind, with instructions to the master, whose name was Thomas Hunt, to sail for Malaga when he had laden his vessel with the fish that he might catch on the coast. This "wicked varlet", as Hubbard rightly calls him, kidnapped twenty-four of the natives, whom he carried to Malaga, and sold as slaves. The result of this infamous outrage was that Captain Hobson, who arrived shortly after in perfect ignorance of the crime that had been committed, was attacked by the Indians, who visited his vessel under the pretext of trading, and he and several of his men were severely wounded. The resentment kindled by Hunt's atrocious conduct presented a serious impediment to the establishment of the contemplated colony, although Smith, in his *New England's Trials*, published London, 1622, 4to., while he reprobates the crime, endeavours to make light of the disasters which must naturally have been its consequence.

In 1615, Smith was again sent out in command of two vessels, one of two hundred, and the other of fifty tons, equipped by Sir Ferdinand Gorges, and Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, but encountering a storm soon after he had put to sea, which broke the masts of his largest ship, he was compelled to return to Plymouth. Thomas Durmer, the commander of the smaller vessel, continued his voyage, and though the main intention of the enterprise was frustrated as to

effecting a settlement, he was successful in the fishery,¹ and moreover sailed along the coast from New England to Virginia, thereby for the first time proving its continuity. He was subsequently wounded severely by a band of savages, and died soon afterwards in Virginia.

The indefatigable Captain John Smith meanwhile showed no relaxation in his exertions to infuse the spirit of colonization amongst his countrymen. He circulated seven thousand copies of books and maps among those whom he thought most likely to sympathize with his plans; but he complains in his *New England's Trials*, 2nd edition, 1622, that he might as well have attempted to "cut rocks with oyster shells." The ill-success of his former voyages was adduced as an argument against him, and the present thriving condition of Virginia was contrasted, to his prejudice, with its unprosperous condition while under his presidency, no allowance being made for the fact that his own excellent management had paved the way for this subsequent prosperity.

Finally it was not till 1620, after so many abortive efforts had been made both by government and powerful bodies to form an establishment in North Virginia, that at length it received, under unexpected circumstances, an influx of settlers which soon rendered it by far the most prosperous of all the colonies in North America. This was the emigration of a large band of Puritans, who suffering under the intolerance of the English government, on account of non-conformity, first passed into Holland, and afterwards found an asylum in America.

¹ He freighted a ship of three hundred tons with fish for Spain. See Purchas, vol. v. p. 1833.

The Editor has thus far led the reader cursorily through the history of the attempts which our countrymen made at effecting settlements in the two divisions of Virginia, and has done so because the English colonization of America seemed to be the pivot upon which the interest of the MS. turned. If he has mistaken his duty in so doing, he hopes that his explanation will involve his excuse. An additional reason for his having given the foregoing consecutive narrative in this introduction, has been that Strachey's MS., although unavoidably borrowing so much of its interest from the date at which it was written, and although giving many most interesting details about the natives, especially the great king Powhatan, that have never been hitherto printed, does not continue the description of the progress of the two colonies up to the period at which we have reason to conclude that he finished his narrative. It is at the same time right to observe, that Strachey appears to have entertained the project of carrying on the work to a much greater extent, inasmuch as he designates the first of the books now published "the First Book of the First Decade"; and the second book, "the Second Book of the First Decade."

It is difficult to say precisely in what year the narrative was written. That it was subsequent to 1612, we are informed by Strachey himself, in the "Address to His Majesties Councill for the Colonie of Virginia Britannia", prefixed to his *Laws for Virginia*, printed at Oxford, 1612, where he says,—
"When I went forth upon this voyage (right worthy gentlemen), true it is, I held it a service of dutie (during the time of my unprofitable service, and

purpose of stay in the colonie, for which way else might I adde unto the least hight of so heroicke and pious a building) to propose unto myself to be (though an unable) remembrancer of all accidents, occurrences, and undertakings thereunto adventitiall; in most of which, since the time our right famous sole governour then, now Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, after the unsealing of his commission, hasted to our fleete in the west, there staying for him, I have, both in the Bermudas, and since, in Virginia, beene a sufferer and an eie-witnesse, and the full storie of both in due time shall consecrate unto your viewes, as unto whome by right it appertaineth.

“Howbeit, since many impediments as yet must detaine such my observations in the shadow of darkneses, untill I shall be able to deliver them perfect unto your judgements, I do, in the meantime, present a transcript of the *Toparchia*, or state of those duties by which their colonie stands regulated and commaunded,” &c. &c.

If the MS. copy from which the present publication has been printed had been the only one remaining, we should have been compelled to have quoted 1618 as the earliest possible date of the work, since the rank of lord high chancellor, which is appended to the name of Sir Francis Bacon in the dedication of this copy, was not conferred on him until later. But as there is a duplicate¹ copy among the Ashmolean manuscripts at Oxford, dedicated to Sir Allen Apsley, to whose name is appended the title of

¹ The only difference appears to be in the title of the second book, and the addition to each of the title-pages of the sentence, “Alget qui non ardet.”

“Purveyor to His Majestie’s Navie Royall”; and as Sir Allen Apsley was, according to Mrs. Hutchinson, in her celebrated life of Colonel Hutchinson, made Lieutenant of the Tower fourteen years before his death in 1630, *i.e.*, 1616, it is presumed that that copy was written prior to that period; inasmuch as it is not reasonable to suppose, that the latter and more important of the two titles would have been omitted in an author’s dedication. At the same time, it is but right to observe, that some authors have quoted the year 1619 as the date of Sir Allen Apsley’s appointment to the lieutenantcy of the Tower.

The glossary at the end of the voyage has included the Indian and English names promiscuously in one alphabetical series; but the Editor has thought it better not to interfere with the original arrangement.

It only remains for the Editor to express his best thanks to Mr. Bennett, of the British Museum, and Secretary of the Linnean Society, for his obliging assistance in the botanical portions of the work. He also feels it to be only a just expression of gratitude to his wife, to acknowledge here her kind aid in supplying the illustrations,—a “labour of love” which it is hoped that the reader will criticise with a lenient eye, as they are her first efforts at etching, and would for that reason not have been made in connexion with a work like the present, but from a natural desire to share in the Editor’s labours, and an earnest wish to add, in however feeble a manner, to the interest of the narrative.

LETTER FROM THE LORD DELAWARR,
GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA,
TO THE PATENTEES IN ENGLAND.

[MS. Harl. 7009, fol. 58.]

“Right Honourable and the rest of our very loving friends,—We are not ignorant how divers perplext and jealous eies mae looke out, and keepe more then freindly espiall over this our passive and misconceived bewsines, and now (more especially, haply, then at any other time), in these our early dayes, and after the aspersions of so many slanderous and wandering discourses, which have bin scattered by malignant and ill-disposed people against it; for which we have conceived it essentiall with the birth of the worke itself, to give up unto your noble knowledges the truith of the state of the same, and of some consequences most materiall following it, since it tooke protection and fostering from us.

“You shall please then to know, how the first of Aprill 1610, in the good shipp the De-la-warr, admirall, accompanied with the Blissing of Plinmouth, viz-admirall, and the Hercules of Ry, reere-admirall, we weyed from the Cowes, getting out of the Needles, and with a favourable passadge holding consort; the 12th day we fell with the Treseras, and recovered that evening (within three leagues) the westernmost part of St. George's Island, where we lay that night becalmed; but the next morning with the sunn-rise did the wind likewise rise, west and west-by-south, a rough and lowde gale, at what time the master of the Reere-admirall told me of a roade fitt for that winde at Gratosia, whereupon I willed him to go before and I

would follow, and so we stood for that roade; but it was my fortune to lead it in, where we came to an ancor at fortie fathom, when it blew so much winde presently, that our ancor came home, and we were forced to sea againe: the same time the Blissing was compeld to cutt her cable at haulfe, for in the weying of it the pale of her capstan brake, and dangerously hurte 12 of our men: the Hercules was likewise forced from the roade, and brake her ancor; yet the next day we mett altogether againe. The 15th, we lost sight of the Hercules, betweene the Treceras and Gratosia, and we saw her no more untill the 6th of June, at what time we made land to the southward of our harbour, the Chesopiock Bay, where, running in towards the shoare, steering away nor-west, before noone we made Cape Henry, bearing nor-west and by west; and that night came to an ancor under the Cape, where we went ashoare, as well to refresh ourselves as to fish, and to sett up a cross upon the pointe (if haply the Hercules might arrive there) to signify our coming in. Whilst we were a fishing, divers Indians came downe from the woods unto us, and with faire intreatye on both sides, I gave unto them of such fish as we tooke, which was good store, and was not unwelcome unto them, for indeed at this time of the yeare they live poore, their corne being but newly putt into the ground, and their old store spent; oysters and crabbs, and such fish as they take in their weares, is their best releefe. As we were returning aboard againe, our master discried a sayle close by the pointe at Cape Henry, whereupon I commaunded him to beare up the helme, and we gave it chase, when within an hower or a little more, to our no little [joy], made her to be the Hercules, our reereadmirall, whome we had now lost

. . . weekes and odd dayes ; and this night (all praise be to God for it) came to an ancor under Pointe Comfort; from whence the captaine of the forte, Co[lonel] James Davies, repaired unto us, and soone had unfolded a strange . . . tion of a double quallitie, mixed both with joy and sorrow. He let us to understand first (because thereof I first inquired) of the arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers, in 2 pinnisses, with all their company safe from the Bermudas, the 21 of May (about some fortnight before our now coming in), whome, he tould us, were now up our river at James Town. I was heartily glad to heare the happines of this newes; but it was seasoned with a following discourse, compound of so many miseries and calamities (and those in such horrid chaunges and divers formes), as no story, I believe, ever presented the wrath and curse of the eternall offended Maiestie in a greater measure. I understood moreover, by reason I saw the Virginia to ly then in Roade, before the pointe ridg, and prepared to sett sayle out of the river, how that Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers were within a tide or two coming downe againe, purposing to abandon the countrie, whilst they had meanes yet lefte to transport them and the whole company to Newfoundland.

“For most true it is, the straunge and unexpected condition and . . . in which Sir Thomas Gates found the colony, gave him to underst[and] never was there more neede of all the powers of judgement, and . . . knowing, and long exercised vertue, then now to be awak calling upon him to save such whome he found so fo as in redeeming himself and his againe from falling into the ties. For

besides that he found the forte unfurnished (and that and many casualties) of so lardge an accompte and number as he expected, and knew came alonge the last yeare, trained in fleete with himself; so likewise found he as empty and unfurnished a entering the towne. It appeared raither as the ruins of some auntient [for]tification, then that any people living might now inhabit it: the pallisadoes he found tourne downe, the portes open, the gates from the hinges, the church ruined and unfrequented, empty howses (whose owners untimely death had taken newly from them) rent up and burnt, the living not hable, as they pretended, to step into the woodes to gather other fire-wood; and, it is true, the Indian as fast killing without as the famine and pestilence within. Only the blockhouse (somewhat regarded) was the safetie of the remainder that lived; which yet could not have preserved them now many dayes longer from the watching, subtile, and offended Indian, who (it is most certaine) knew all this their weaknes, and forbare too timely to assault the forte, or hazard themselves in a fruitles warr on such whome they were assured in short time would of themselves perish, and being provoked, their desperate condition might draw forth to a valiaunt defence; yet were they so ready and prepared, that such whome they found of our men stragled single beyond the bounds, at any time, of the blockhouse, they would fiercely chardge (for all their peices), as they did 2 of our people not many dayes before Sir Thomas Gates was come in, and 2 likewise they killed after his arrivall 4 or 5 dayes.

“ But that which added most to his sorowe, and not a litle startled him, was the impossibilitie which he

conceived (and conceived truly) how to amend any one whitt of this. His forces were not of habilitie to revenge upon the Indian, nor his owne supply (now brought from the Bermudas) sufficient to releive his people; for he had brought no greater store of provision (as not jealous that any such disaster could have befallne the colony) then might well serve 150 for a sea voyage; and at this time of the yeare, neither by force (had his power bin sufficient) nor trade, might have amended these wants, by any help from the Indian: nor was there any meanes in the forte to take fish, for there was neither a sufficient seave to be found, nor any other convenient netts; and, to saye true, if there had, yet was there not aneye sturghion come into the river.

“All these considered, he then entered into consultation with Sir George Summers and Capt. Newporte, calling unto the same the gentlemen and counsaile of the former government, intreating both the one and the other to advise with him, what was to be don: the provision which they both had aboard, both Sir George Summers and Capt. Newporte, was examined and delivered, how it being rackt to the uttermost, extended not to above 16 dayes, after 2 cakes a day. The gentlemen of the towne (who knew better of the countrie) could not give them any hope, or wayes how to recover oughts from the Indian. It soone then appeered most fitt, by a generall approbation, that to preserve and save all from starving, there could be no readier course thought on, then to abandon the countrie, and accomodating themselves the best that they might in the present pinnasses then in the roade (as, namely, in the Discovery, and the Virginia, the 2 brought from,

and builded at, the Bermudas, the one called the Deliveraunce, of about 70 tonn, and the other, the Patience, of about 30 tonn), with all speed convenient, to make for the New-found-land, where, it being then fishing time, they might meete with many English shippes, into which, happily, they might disperse most of the company.

“ This consultation taking effect the 7th of June, Sir Thomas Gates having appointed to every pinnass his complement and number, and delivered likewise thereunto a proportionable rate of provision, caused every man to repaire aboard; and bycause he would preserve the towne (albeit now to be quitted) unburned, which some intemperate and malicious people threatened, his one company he caused likewise to be cast ashore, and was himself the last of them, when, about noone, giving a farewell with a peale of small shott, he sett sayle, and that night, with the tide, fell down to an island in the river, which our people here call Hogg Island; and the next morning the tide brought them to another island, which they have called Mulberry Island, at what time they discovered my long boat. For I, having understood of the resolution by the aforesaid pinnas, which was some 4 or 5 days come away before, to prepare those at Pointe Comforte, with all expedition I caused the same to be man'd, and in it, with the newes of our arrivall, dispatched my letters by Captaine Edward Brewister to Sir Thomas Gates, which, meeting to[gether] before the aforesaid Mulberry Island, the 8th of June aforesaid, upon the receipte of our letters, Sir Thomas Gates bore up the helm againe, and that night (the wind favourable) re-landed all his men at the forte; before which, the 10th of

June being Sondag, I brought my shipp, and in the afternoon went ashoare, where after a sermon made by Mr. Buck, Sir Thomas Gates his preacher, I caused my commission to be read, upon which Sir Thomas Thomas Gates delivered up unto me his owne commission, both patents, and the counsell seale: and then I delivered some few wordes unto the company, laying some blames on them for many vanities and their idleness, earnestly wisshing that I might no more find it so, leaste I should be compeld to drawe the sworde of justice, to cut of such delinquents, which I had much rather drawe in their defence, to protect from enimies; heartening them with the knowledge of what store of provisions I had brought for them; and after, not finding as yet in the towne a convenient house, I repaired aboard againe, where the 12th of June, I did constitute and give places of office and chardge to divers captaines and gentlemen, and elected unto me a counsaile, unto whome I administred an oath of faith, assistance, and secresy; their names were these:—

Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, Lieutenant Gen[eral.]

Sir George Summers, Knight, Admirall.

Capt. George Percey, Esq.

Sir Ferdinando Wenman, Knight, M

Capt. Christopher Newport,

William Strachey, Esq., Secretary [and Recorder?]¹

As likewise I nominated Capt. John Martin Master of the B workes for steele and iron; and Capt.

¹ The paper of the original is destroyed where the dots, &c., are inserted. The wordes “and recorder” are supplied from Strachey’s description of the same appointments in Purchas. The almost verbatim similarity of the two, leads to the inference that this letter was indited by Strachey himself.

George Webb, Serjeant of the forte; and Mr. Daniell Tucker and Mr. Robert Wild, clarkes of the store.

“ Our first care was to advise with our counsaile for the obtaining of such provisions of victualls, for store and quallitie, as the countrey afforded for our people. It did not appeare unto us that any kind of flesh, deere, or what els, of that kind could be recovered from the Indians, or to be sought in the countrey by us; and our people, together with the Indians (not to friend), had the last winter destroyd and kild up all our hoggs, insomuch as of five or six hundred (as it is supposed), there was not above one sow, that we can heare of, left alive; not a henn nor chick in the forte (and our horses and mares they had eaten with the first); and the provision which we had brought concerning any kind of flesh was little or nothing: whereupon it pleased Sir George Summers to propose a voyage, which, for the better releife and good of the colony, he would performe into the Bermudas (which, lying in the height of 32 degrees and 20 minutes, 5 degrees from our bay, may be some seve[n] skore leagues from us, or thereabouts; reckoning to every degree that lyes nor-west and westerly, 28 English leagues); and from thence he would fetch 6 monthes’ provision of flesh and fish, and some live hoggs, of which those islands (by their owne reporte, however, most daungerous to fall with) are marvellous full and well stored; whereupon, well approving and applauding a motion relishing of so faire hopes and much goodnes, we gave him a commission the 15th of June, who, in his owne Bermuda pinnas, the Patience, accompanied with Capt. Samuell Argall, in the Discovery

(whome we sware of our counsaile before his departure), the 19th of June fell with the tide from before our towne, whome we have ever since accompanied with our hearty prayers for his happy and safe returne.

“ And likewise bicause at our first coming we found in our owne river no store of fish after many tryalls, we dispatched with instructions the 17. of June, Robert Tindall, master of the Delawarr, to fish unto all along and betweene Cape Henry and Cape Charles within the bay, who the last of the same returned unto us againe, but mett with so small a quantitie and store of fish, as he scarce tooke so much as served the company that he caried forth with him. Nor were we in the meane while idle at the forte, but every day and night we hayled our nett sometimes a dozen times one after an other, but it pleased not God so to bless our labours, that we should at any time take one quarter so much as would give unto our people one pound at a meale a peice (by which we might have better husbanded and spared our peaz and oatmeale), notwithstanding the greate store we now saw dayly in our river.

“ Thus much in briefe concerning our voyadge hether, our meeting with Sir Thomas Gates heere, and our joynt cares and indevours since our arrivall : nor shall we be fayling on our parte to do the uttermost that we may for the happy structure and raysing againe of this too much stooped and dejected imployment. It rests that I should now truly deliver unto yee (right honourable and the rest of our good freinds) somewhat our opinion, or rather better judgement, which hath observed many things, and those objected cleare to reason, most beneficiall concerning this coun-

trie. And first, we have experience, and our owne eyes witnes, how young soever we are to this place, that no countrie yealdeth goodlier corne or more manifold increase, large feildes we have as prospects houerly before us of the same, and those not many miles from our quarter (some whereof, true it is, to quitt the mischeivous Indian, and irreconsilable for his late injuries and murthering of our men, our purpose is to be masters of ere long, and to thresh it out on the flores of our barnes when the time shall serve). Next, in every boske and common hedge, and not farr from our pallisado gates, we have thousands of goodly vines running along and leaning to every tree, which yeald a plentifull grape in their kind : let me appeale, then, to knowledge, if these naturall vines were planted, dressed, and ordered by skilfull vinearoones, whether we might not make a perfect grape and fruitfull vintage in short time ? Lastly, we have made triall of our owne English seedes, kitchen hearbes, and rootes, and find them no sooner putt into the ground then to prosper as speedily and after the same quallitie as in England.

“ Only let me truly acknowledge they are not an hundred or two of deboisht hands, dropt forth by yeare after yeare, with penury and leysure, ill provided for before they come, and worse governed when they are heere, men of such distempered bodies and infected mindes, whome no examples dayly before their eyes, either of goodnes or punishment, can deterr from their habituall impieties, or terrifie from a shamefull death, that must be the carpenters and workers in this so glorious a building.

“ But (to delude and mock the bewsines no longer)

as a necessary quantity of provision for a yeare at least must be carefully sent with men, so likewise must there be the same care for men of quallitie, and paines taking men of artes and practises, chosen out and sent into the bewsines, and such are in dew time now promised, sett downe in the scechedule at the end of our owne approved discourse, which we have intituled 'A true and sincere declaration of the purpose and end of our Plantation begonn in Virginia,' &c.

"And these two, such men and such provision are like enough to make good the ends of the ymployment in all the waies both for re[pu]tation, search and discovery of the countrie, and the hope of the South Sea, as also to returne by all shippes sent hither many com[mo]dities well knowne to be heere, if meanes be to prepare them. W[here]upon give me leave, I beseech yee, further to make inference, th[at] since it hath bin well thought on by yee to provide for the gove[rnment] by chaunging the authoritie into an absolute command (indeed . . . virtuall advancement to these like bewsinesses and m . . . company us) of a noble and well instructed leifet[enant] . . . of an industrious admirall, and other knights and gen[tlemen], and officers, each in their severall place of quallitie and implo[yment], if the other two, as I have saide, be taken into dew accompte . . . valewed as the sinewes (as indeed they be) of this action (without w[hich] it cannot possible have any faire subsisting, however men ha[ve] belyed both it and themselves heeretofore) then let no rumor of the poverty of the countrey (as if in the wombe thereof there lay not those ellimentall seedes which could produce as many goodly birthes of plenty and increase, yea, and of better hopes as of any

land under the heavens unto whome the sunn is no neerer a neighbour; I say, let no imposture, rumor then, nor any fame of some one or a few more chaunceable actions interposing by the way or at home, wave any mans faire purposes hetherward, or wrest them to a declininge and falling of from the bewsines.

“For let them be assured, as of the truith itself, these premisses considered, looke what the countrie can afforde, which may, by the quantitie of our men, be safely and conveniently explored, search[ed,] and made practise of, these things shall not be omitted for our p[art], nor will be by the lievetenant generall to be commaunded; nor our commaunds receaved (as in former times) with unwillingnes or falcenes, either in our people’s going forth, or in execution, being for each one in his place, whither commaunder, overseer, or labourer.

“For the causes of these idle and restie untowardnes being by the authoritie and unitie of our government removed, all hands already sett to it; and he that knew not the way to goodnes before, but cherisht singularitie and faction, now can beate out a path himself of industrie and goodnes for others to trade in, such, may I well say, is the power of exemplar vertue. Nor would I have it conceived that we would exclude altogether gentlemen, and such whose breeding never knew what a daye’s labour meant, for even to such, this countrie I doubt not but will give likewise excellent satisfaction, especially to the better and stayed spiritts; for he amongst us that cannot digg, use the square, nor practise the ax and chissle, yet he shall find how to imploy the force of knowledge, the exercise of counsell,

and the operation and power of his best breeding and qualitie.

“ And thus, right honourable and the rest of our very good friends; assuring yee of our resolution to tarry God’s mercy towards us, in continuing for our parte this plantation, I only will intreate yee to stand favourable unto us for a new supply in such matters of the two-fold phisicke, which both the soules and bodies of oure poor people heere stand much in neede of; the specialties belonging to the one, the phisitians themselves (whome I hope you will be carefull to send unto us) will bring along with them; the particularities of the other we have sent herein, inclosed unto us by Mr. Doctor Boone,¹ whose care and industrie for the preservation of our men’s lives (assaulted with straunge fluxes and agues), we have just cause to commend unto your noble favours: nor let it, I beseech yee, be passed over as a motion slight and of no moment to furnish us with these things, so much importuning the strength and health of our people, since we have true experience how many men’s lives these phisicke helps have preserved since our coming in, God so blessing the practise and diligence of our doctor, whose store is nowe growne thereby to so lowe an ebb, as we have not above 3 weekes phisicall provisions, if our men continew still thus visited with the sicknesses of the countrie, of the which every season hath his particular infirmitie reighning in it, as we have it related unto us by the old inhabitants; and since our owne arrivall, have cause to feare it to be true, who have had 150 at a time much afflicted, and I am per-

¹ *I. e.* Bohun, mentioned hereafter in the narrative.

swaded had lost the greatest part of them, if we had not brought these helpes with us.

“And so concluding your farther troubles, with this only remembrance, that we have, with the advise of our counsell, conceived it most fitt to detain yet a while, for all good occasions, the good shipp the Delawarr, to which we hope yee wil be no whitt gainsaying: we cease with unnecessary relations to provoke yee any farther.

James Towne, July 7th, 1610.

THO. LAWARRE. THO. GATES. FERD. WENMAN.

GEORGE PERCY.

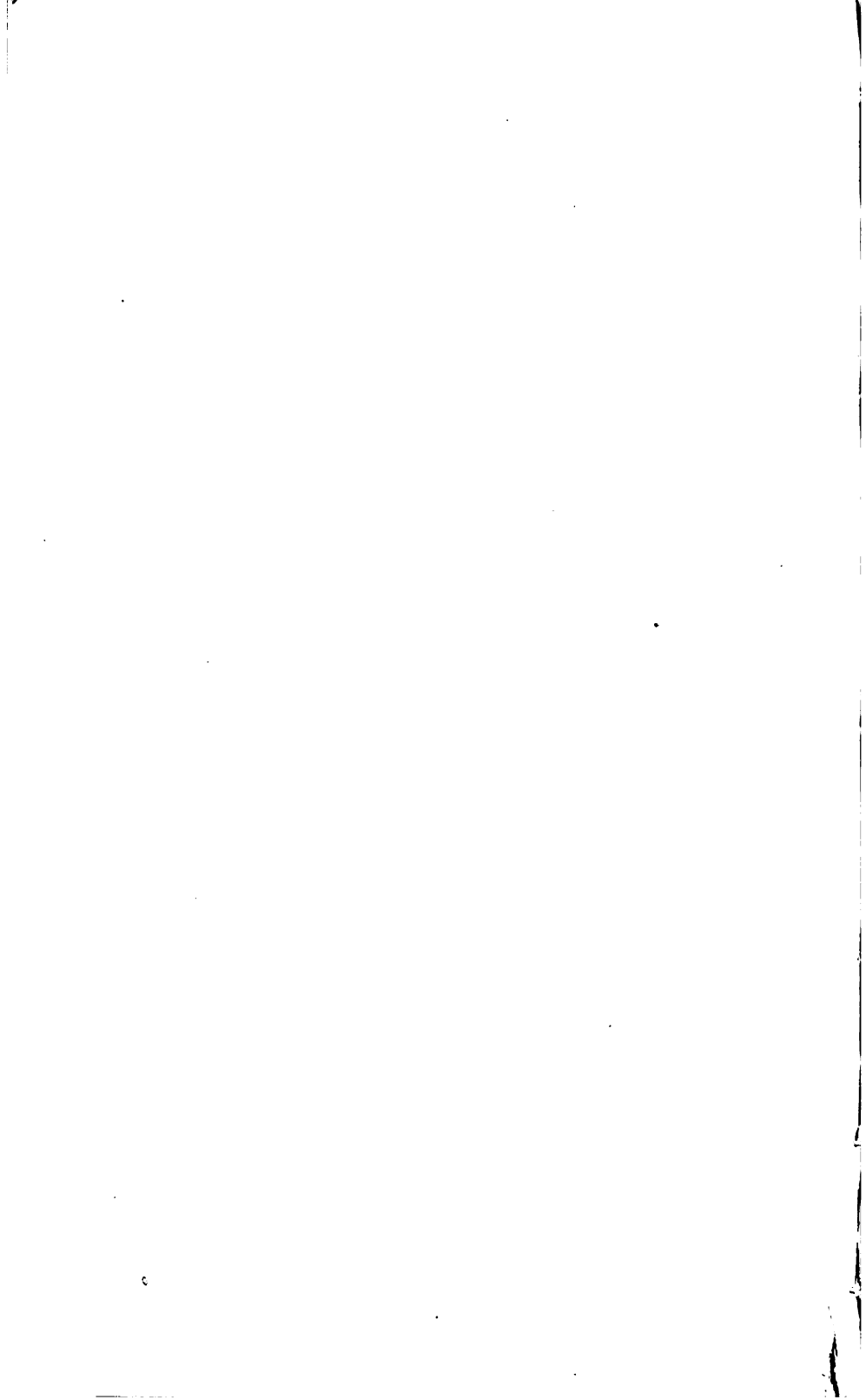
WILLIAM STRACHEY.¹

¹ A fac-simile of these signatures is given on the next page.

~~George Percy~~

George Percy
William Strachey

Thomas Fildes



THE FIRST BOOKE

OF

THE HISTORIE OF TRAVAILE INTO VIRGINIA BRITANNIA,
EXPRESSING THE COSMOGRAPHIE AND COMODITIES
OF THE COUNTRY, TOGITHER WITH THE
MANNERS AND CUSTOMES OF
THE PEOPLE :

GATHERED AND OBSERVED AS WELL BY THOSE WHO WENT
FIRST THITHER, AS COLLECTED BY

WILLIAM STRACHEY, GENT.,

THREE YEARES THITHER IMPLYED SECRETARIE OF STATE, AND
OF COUNSAILE WITH THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORD
LA-WARRE, HIS MAJESTIES LORD GOVERNOR AND
CAPT. GENERALL OF THE COLONY.

PSALM CII, VER. 18.

"This shalbe written for the generation to come : and the people which
shalbe created shall praise the Lord."

*To the Right Honourable SIR FRANCIS BACON,
Knight, Baron of Verulam, Lord High Chancellor of
England, and of His Majesties most honorable Privy
Counsell.*

Most worthely honor'd Lord,

Your Lordship ever approving yourself a most noble fautor of the Virginian Plantation, being from the beginning (with other lords and earles) of the principal counsell applyed to propogate and guide yt : and my poore self (bound to your observaunce, by being one of the Graies-Inne Societe) having bene there three yeares thither, imploied in place of secretarie so long there present ; and setting downe with all my wel-meaning abilities a true narration or historie of the countrie : to whome shoulde I submitt so aptly, and with so much dutye, the most humble present thereof, as to your most worthie and best-judging Lordship ? who in all vertuous and religious endeavours have ever bene, as a supream encourager, so an inimitable patterne and perfecter : nor shall my plaine and rude composition any thought discourage my attempt, since howsoever I should feare to appeare therein before so matchles a maister in that facultie (if any opinionate worth of mine owne worke presented me) yet as the great Composer of all things made all good with his owne goodnes, and in our only will to his imitation takes us into his act, so be his goodnes your good Lordship's in this acceptation : for which with all my poore service I shall abide ever

Your best Lordship's most humbly,

WILLIAM STRACHEY.

ÆCCLESIAE ET REIPUB.

Wild as they are, accept them, so we're wee :
To make them civill, will our honour bee :
And if good worcks be the effects of myndes,
Which like good angells be, let our designes,
As wee ar Angli, make us Angells too :
No better worck can state- or church-man do.

W. St.

PRÆMONITION TO THE READER.

Wherein (as the fowndation to all the succeeding busines) is derived downe to our tymes, the auntyent right and clayme which we make to this part of America, and therein both the objections answered and doubts cleirly satisfied of such who, through mallice, or ignorance, either have or hereafter may call the lawfulness of the proceeding hereof in question.

THE many mouthes of ignorance and slander which are ever too apt to lett fall the venome of their worst and most depraved envies upon the best and most sacred workes, and soe not afraide to blast both this enterprize and the devoutest labowrers therein, wringes from me the necessity of this imperfect defence, whome yet I have observed more in clamour (me thought) then at any tyme in force, to cry out still upon yt, calling yt an unnationall and unlawfull undertaking; when lett [it] be but observed (I pray), and soone will appeare their mallice and petulancy to speake, as also, what a distance there is truly sett betweene the busines and their knowledge; for, in a cliere judgment, if any such attaint lay upon the act, neither the generall peace of the tyme might not suffer yt to goe forth with such libertie, nor the honor of such who have sett yt forward, ymportune yt of his Majestie, nor would the consciences (yt is knowen right well) of the chief commanders for the execution and actuall part thereof (let custome have taken away, however, that quicknes from the chargers owne insensible and seared heart) hazard the last and setting howers of their daies in trayterous or ignoble prosecutions; yet being the pious and only end both intended by his Majestie, by the honorable Counsaile for the busines, by the Lord Generall, Lieutenant Generall, Marshall, and

purpose
 such like emynent officers (called forth for the dignity of so great a cause), together with the generall adventurers, with all carefulnes, principally to endeavour the conversion of the natives to the knowledge and worship of the true God, and the world's Redeemer, Christ Jesus; how rotten and unsound, then, both to his Majestie and the present faith (it is to be feared) may they be at the coare within, that dare (except yt be as I sayd, out of ignorance, yet cannot that excuse a factious and pragmatique tongue) quarrel and traduce the proceedings of a whole state, and to which the royall authoritie, by letters made patents, both in her Majestie's tyme, of famous memory, and nowe likewise hath ben five tymes concurrant? May yt be supposed any one but luke-warme in Christian charity would be parcell guilty herein, or make yt questionable whether should be attempted a worke of this piety uppon a barbarous nation? Let the busy knowledge (to say no more) of such a one be shrewdly suspected, and blemished. May any lover of his country? No. Yet is [it] to be feared that he borroweth but a counterfeyt face from Janus, to turne to the penall edict, or to his prince (if such be his grace): but, however, let them both knowe the grounds of goodnes are not layd so weake, in well weyed counsailes, that the clamour of a centurion or two can disturb Numa Pompilius' kneelinge at the aulter. Let them give yt up in rumor, or more subtilly cry out, that our enemies at Seville, or Lishborne, at Dominica, Mevis,² or at the Havana, are up in armes for us, we can yet goe on in the justifiableness of our course, makinge only Pompilius' answer,—"And we doe sacrifice". Will it yet please the reader to favour me a little?

objection
 Two sorts especially, I must conceave, of untoward (to stile them noe worse) and ill disposed in their wisdomes, stand much offended with this busines, and have devysed against yt many slaunders and calumneys, the meere ignorant (not only in *scientia scientia*, as the scholman saies, but includinge grossenes and sim-

¹ Plutarch relates that Numa founded his hopes so strongly upon God, that on one occasion, during the offering of a sacrifice, when he received an announcement that his enemies were approaching, he smiled, and made answer, "Ἐγὼ δὲ θύω,"—"And I am sacrificing".

² "Nevis", an island in the West Indies, discovered by Columbus.

plicytie in any knowledge) and the meere opposite in scientia conscientia, in religion ; I would to God the latter were not more dangerous, by how much ✓

Celeberrima per loca vadet ;
and can speake amisse, out of the corrupt seedes of goodnes, and perhaps soe speaking be hearde.

And these both saye, how the undertaking cannot be lawfull. Why ? Because the King of Spayne hath a primer interest into the country. Next, it cannot be honest in yt self. Why ? Because injurious to the naturalls ; and which connected together, yt must then necessarily followe (saye they) that yt can be no other than a travaile of flat impiety, and displeasinge before God. Indeed, no meane objections to stumble shallowe home witts, who, whilst they looke lazely and broadly on yt, are presented with an ugly face ; but if, by a more perspective direction, we will examine how these perticularities may lie together, we shall find another modell, and an aire of that dignity and truth which aspiers to a cleane contrary comelines.

For the King of Spaine : he hath no more title nor collour of title to this place, which we by our industry and expenses have only made ours (as for the Pope's donative of all America unto him, that is sufficiencytly answered ellswere, in a discourse alredye published by a most worthy undertaker),¹ then hath any Christyan prince (or then we, or any other prince, maye have to his Mexico and Peru, or any dominions ells of any free state and kingdome) how nere soever the West Indies and Florida may joyne thereunto, and lye under the same portion of heaven ; with as great bravery maie we laye clayme to all the islands which the Seignorie of Venice nowe holdes in the Levant seas, because Ciprus was once ours, by the conquest of Richard Cour de Lion, and confines with theires, then which what more infirme and ✓

¹ Allusion may possibly here be made to Hieronymus Benzo, who, in his "Novæ Novi Orbis Historiæ", touching the will of Pope Alexander VI, says, "Quo jure hæc dare potuit Papa, in quæ nullum jus nunquam habuit ? Nisi fortè quia Christus cœli ac terræ hæres est, cujus bonus iste Pater vicarius est, scilicet." Or more probably, judging from the use of the word "undertaker", Hakluyt may be referred to, who treats on the subject in his "Divers Voyages", published 1582.

ridiculous pretence could be framed? and yet is the Kinge of Spaine's argument to our interest in Virginia just in this moode and figure.

right of possession

Noe Prince may laye claime to any more amongst these newe discoveries (and soe it was heretofore, a just distinction being therefore kept betweene the Kinge of Castile and Portugall) then what his people have discovered, tooke actuall possession of, and passed over to his right; and noe otherwise from Columbus doth the Kinge of Spaine hold his strength and dominions to this daye in his golden Indies; and noe otherwise from Soto,¹ his Adelantado, concerninge our neighbour Florida: and soe we allow him (without any one inch of intrusion) both his longitude and latitude in this new world, we keeping from Cape Florida norward, to Cape Briton. The landes, countries, and territories of this parte of America which we call ours, and by the name of Virginia, or Nova Britannia, being carefully laid out (of purpose) to avoid offence unto certaine boundes, and regions, begynning from the point of land called Cape Comfort, and so holding all along the sea-coast to the norward two hundred myles; and from the point of the said Cape Comfort all along the sea-coast to the so-ward three hundred miles; and so only all that space and circuit of land lying from the sea-coasts of these precincts, not coming neere any land in his actuall possession, but rather diverting from yt many a league; and yet holdes he neither any chargeable forces (to dispute his right) uppon the mayne, nor keepees colonies (except in Florida, at St. Augustine only), nor reckons of the same, but that is at his best pleasure.

Within the Chesopoke Bay six leagues, which Bay the Spaniards in their cartes call Sante Maria.

But what nowe concerning this point, for the more cliering of yt to such who stumble thereat: if we should say that our right to the West Indies themselves (since they will needes awaken us with pretence of title) is as firme, proper, and far more auntyent then the Spaniards; and before the royall spirited lady Isabella, Princesse of Castile, layd her jewells to pawne, to Luis of St. Angelo, the King her husband's secretary, to forward the designe, and to prevent our King Henry VII (who was both offred, and

Vide Hackluite's discoveries, lib. 1.

¹ Fernando de Soto, who followed the fortunes of Pizarro, and was a main instrument in annexing Florida to the crown of Spain.

accepted Columbus's offer, and entred into capitulations with his brother Bartholomew about them, anno 1489), sure we should not want some pregnant likelyhoodes, and those not only by our simple discoveries, but by our planting and inhabiting them with the people of our owne nation four hundred years before Columbus had notice of them by the Biscan pilot,¹ who, when he dwelt in the islands of Madera, arrived with a weather beaten caravelle, and dying in his house, bequeathed (as they say) to Columbus his card of the discription of such newe landes as he had found. True yt is, the first shippes that Columbus carryed thither were but in anno 1492, which is now since one hundred and twenty yeares ; when lett any man be but pleased to looke into the learned and industrious antiquities of Mr. Camden (the carefulnes and truth of whose searches he that will undervalew, or sclaunder, shalbe much out of love with the labours of all good men and powers of vertue), and he remembers us of Madoc, the sonne of Owen Gwineth, Prince of Nor-Wales, in the yeare 1170 (which may be four hundred and thirty-nine years since), who, leaving the land in contention betweene his two brethren, Howell and David, prepared certayne shippes with men and munition, and after many unknowne landes and straunge discoveries made (sayling within the Atlantick sea, a sowardly course, yet still into the west), at last setteled in the West Indies, as his owne relation suffers construction, which he made in his returne for newe supplies, the second and third tyme, which he transported, and after that was heard no more of ; and late observations taken in these tymes

¹ Many authors have attempted to mar the fame of Columbus, by asserting, in circumstantial and positive language, that he derived his notion of the existence of lands in the west, from the papers of a Biscayan pilot, named Alonzo Sanchez de Huelva, who died in his house. According to Garcilasso de la Vega, this pilot, in 1484 or thereabouts, landed on Hispaniola, and wrote an account of his voyage. These accounts, as well as, in all probability, that here hinted at by Strachey, are doubtless based upon the fallacious statement of Gomara, who abounds in such unfounded stories. There is, however, a better reason than the paucity of credit due to Gomara for refusing credence to this injurious aspersion, inasmuch as it is certain that in 1474, ten years previous to the date thus assigned to the voyage of the Biscayan pilot, Columbus communicated to Paolo Toscanelli, of Florence, his notions of a westward voyage of discovery.

may confirme the probability hereof, as first in Acuzamill (so in writing Francis Lopez de Gomera²) the natives when they were first found, had their crosses in their chapples, and in dedicated groves, in gardens, by woodes, springes, and fowntaines, which they did honour and fall downe before, thereto saying their usuall prayers, which must mak illustration that Christians had ben there before the coming of the Spaniard: and no ecclesiastical history comendes unto us (since Solomon's voyage to Ophir ceased), nor any recordes of other antiquities (since the fabulous drowning by Deucalion's flood, or burning by Phæton, or since the sincking of the Atlantick islands), more auneynt, or before the voyage of Madoc. Lastly, the language of the Indians admitting much and many wordes, both of places, and names of many creatures, which have the accents and Welch significations, and are yet retayned, both by the Indian, Crollos (Spaniards borne there), and Mulatoes.

Or Mestizo.³

John Cabot discovers from Florida northward to Meta Incognita, set out by King Henry VII.

But this is materiall and punctuall to our hypothesis. King Henry VII gave his letters pattents, No. 1495, unto John Cabot, a Venetian (indenized his subject, and dwelling within the Blackfriars), and to his three sonnes, who discovered for the King the north parts of America, to Meta Incognita,⁴ and annexed to the crowne of England all that great tract of lande stretching from the Cape of Florida unto those parts, mayne and islands, which we call the New-found-land, some of which were not before knowen to Columbus, nor afterwards to Nicuesa,⁵ Colmenaris,⁶ nor Vasquez Nunnez,⁷ nor any of the Castilions; the draught of which voyage

¹ The island of Cozumel, near the east coast of Yucatan, discovered by Grixalva in 1518.

² See Gomera's "Conquista de Mexico", Art. La Religion de Acuzamil, fo. 24. Antwerp edition, 1554. Small 8vo.

³ This word also implies "Spaniards born in the country."

⁴ An indefinite name subsequently given to the north part of America by Queen Elizabeth upon the return of Frobisher from his second voyage, "as a marke and bound hitherto utterly unknowen". See "The third Voyage of Captain Frobisher, pretended for the Discoverie of Cataia by Meta Incognita, A.D. 1578."—Hakluyt, vol. iii, fo. 74.

⁵ Diego de Nicuessa, one of the early Spanish adventurers; founder of Nombre de Dios.

⁶ Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares, a companion of Vasquez Nuñez de Balboa. See Herrera, Dec. i, lib. ix, cap. 6.

⁷ Vasquez Nuñez de Balboa, the first European who crossed the main-

is yet to be seene in his Majestie's prize gallery in his pallace at Westminster:¹ but the tumults (say they who wrought of those tymes) then, and preparations for warrs in Scotland, tooke away the seconding of that enterprize, yet no whit tooke awaye (I hope) our title, more than the King of Spayne may loose his to those parts covered with the same heavens, which he neither fortifies nor planteth to this day.

Soe as we may conclude, then, at least, that as Christopher Columbus discovered the islands and continent of the West Indies for Spayne, John and Sebastian Cabot made discoveries no lesse of the rest from Florida, norward, to the behouf of England, being supported by the regall authority, and sett forth at the charge and expence of King Henry VII ; and we hope that they will leave unto us the same way and proprietary, both to goe unto our owne and hold yt by, as we give them ; and if they will do so (and all lawes of nations will assist us herein), how unjust and parcial shall that subject be, and how ill a servant in the court of his owne prince, that will dare to give from him and his country the right and honor of both, gayned with the expence of the publique purse, and with the travells and lives of the industrious subject ; as well may such a traytor lay the crowne of his monarch upon the Spaniard's head, as appropriate unto him his titles, his territories, and possessions, since so undistinguishable, and such relatives are the prince and his principalities, as he is sayd no longer to be a kinge that is deprived and is every way denied the title of his kingdomes ; and if this argument be in force (he will say) only where countryes lye neere and approximate each to other, let me, then, ask this question : what kingdomes (I pray you) and provinces lye more disjoyned and scattered (as some famelies that agree best when they are furthest each from other) then the King of Spaynes ? in so much as it is only that which holdes him to this day from not being reckoned amongst the five great

land of America, and thence obtained a view of the Pacific Ocean,—this took place in the year 1513.

¹ This copy of Cabot's map is supposed to have perished in the fire which destroyed that gallery in the reign of William III. See Entick's "General History of the late War."

monarchs of the world. Let no man therefore be traduced by the accounts which false hearted subjects (more jealous of a foreign prince's pride, then zealous for his Majesty's royalties, and joyous in the felicity of his government) have heretofore made audit to him of, here being raised to the view, though a short, yet a cliere prospect of our right.

Her Majesty, of famous memory, so well understood her princely right herein (derived downe from her heroik grandfather to her self), as she graunted many large pattents and gracious commissions, to divers gentlemen of birth and quality, to inhabite those parts, and to keepe her title quick and panting still therein: as first, to Sir Humfrey Gilbert (whome the light first forsooke,¹ before he would forsake his hopes and journeis thither); and afterward, to the some time much honored Sir W. R[aleigh], knight, to whome, and to his heires, in the 26 yeare of her raigne,² she confirmed, at Westminster, a large graunt, from 33 to 40 degrees of latitude, exemplified with many ymmunities and priviledges; who there-uppon sent, first, thither Captaine Amadas and Captaine Barlow (1584), which Amadas, in memory of himself, intituled a bay at Roanoak, to this day called Bay Amadas; and, after them, he sent a fleete of 7 sailes, anno 1585, comanded by Sir R. Greenville, who, at Wococon, likewise more to the so-ward from Roanoak, gave name to a port which yet retaines the name of Port Greenville; who left a colony of 100 in the said island of Roanoak, which remayned there one whole yeare under the charge of Sir Ralph Lane, generall of the same, and which were afterward brought from thence (by the neglect of due supplies growing into some wants) by Sir Francis Drake, in his returne homewardes from the sacking of St. Domingo, Carthagen, and St. Augustine. Yet, after this, did Sir W. R. contynewe a third and fourth voyage, which had their misfortunes; and anno 1587, sent a second colony of 150, under the command of Captaine White and 12 assistants, unto whome he gave a charter, and encorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citty Raleigh, in Virginia; all of

Capt. Amadas and Capt Barlow discover Roanoak, anno 1584, at the expence of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight.

Vide lib. secundo.

¹ He was drowned at midnight of the 9th of September, 1583, having rashly ventured, with his frigate too heavily laden, to make his homeward voyage from an enterprize in which he had taken possession of Newfoundland.

² A^o. 1584.

which likewise miscarried by the wretchedness of unskilful instruments (abusing therein Sir W. R.), who, falling upon other practizes, and which those tymes afforded, after the said White had been in England the second time, and was refurnished out with all things needefull for the colony, indeavoured nothing lesse then the relief of the poore planters, who afterward, as you shall read in this following discourse, came therefore to a miserable and untymely destiny.

And this fatall period had Sir W. R. his good purposes, and great charges, all which I have the more largely extracted, that yt may the more expressively appeare howe this is no newe enterprize, nor taken in hand now by a generallity (which, true yt is, before Sir W. R. his attaynder, without his leave we might not make intrusion uppon, the title being only in him), to offer cause of quarrell or offence to a peacefull confederate, or Christian neighbour prince : a purpose soe far from the undertakers, councill, or body politique, to whome the charter is graunted by his Majestie, as they shall wrest with too much streyned applicacions, the endeavours of such honourable and religious personages who would raise their country, and the fame of their soveraigne, equall with others who have enlarged their powers and their titles by the like meanes ; and to avowe unto the world, that if the Spanyard shall attempt us at any tyme with ill measure, offering either to make surreption of our ships by the way thither, or to breake into our plantations with acts of hostility (as most despightfully did Pedro Melendes, their admirall, into the French colony, 44 yeares since, in Nova Francia ; who raysted their fort, and hung up the common soldiers (Laudenier, the generall, being straungely escaped), and wrought over them disdainfull inscriptions, in Spanish, importing, "I doe not this as unto Frenchmen, but as unto Lutherans", which Spanish cruelty was yet, in the winding up, as bloudely revenged agayne, by Dominique de Gourgues, of Burdeux, who, not long after, arrived there, trussed up the selfsame Spaniards upon the boughes of the same trees whereon they hung the French, with these wordes : I doe not this as unto Spaniards, but as unto tyrants and murtherers) nowe we are sett downe here, how unjustly they shall proceede heerein, and how much they shall lay themselves, and their faithes,

makes them, as they say, the true Musselman, before the Persian), to be subject to the disputacion of any Christian, upon the payne of a sure death. Where amongst these, a more easie passage lyes open to wound the illusion of Sathan, and to gayne a poore innocent to partake in our knowledges. We take heaven by violence, saith the evangelist ; I am sure yt is given to men of fervent charity *et operantibus*, and good workes, albeit they be not *con causa*, yet are they *con sectaria* (as the schooleman saieth) of our faith ; though not *causa regnandi*, yet are they *via ad regnum*,—they justifie not before God, yet they doe glorifie God in His servants ; and what more meritorious worke can ther be then to labour in Godes cause (let the world however brand yt for folly), and worke them to be His, whose image they beare, and participate with us of reason, carrying in their nostrills more than the spirit of life, the breath of beasts, which how should we then pittie and take religious compassion of ? And compassion, saith Guicciardine, debates not causes and reasons, but proceedes to relief, for which the duty of a good man is said to be compounded of these two things, the glory of his Creator, and the love of his neighbour. And who is our neighbour, demandeth our Saviour ? He that (as in an inne) quartereth next lodging and doore unto us ? No, sure, for albeit in the old lawe, the elected Jew accompted every Jew his neighbour only, yet, since the time of grace, we are taught to acknowledge every man that beareth the impression of God's stampe, to be not only our neighbour, but to be our brother, howe farr distinguished and removed by seas or lands soever from us ; and in that stile doe far disjoyned princes salute each the other ; and, indeed, yt is the generall office of mankind, not only to wish good, but to bring yt to passe, for one of the like creation.

Now, what greater good can we derive unto them then the knowledge of the true and ever lyving God ? And what doth more directly and rarely minister that effect then society, and to joyne with them in friendship ? Since we daile see amongst ourselves the profane and the most disordered (might I not say almost barbarous), by keepinge company, doth light uppon somethinge the while, which stumbles him in his hast, and makes him often take a pawse before he proceedes, eyther shame or compunction

striving within him. Nor is this without some plea of reason; for like doth in tyme fasten and worke into like (as fier worketh wood altogether into fier), and as the eye, if it be opposed and presented to any sensible object that excelleth, will loose his proper and naturall function, so by conversing, the tyme, or reverence and awe of the better company, or some particuler advantage, circumstance or other, may object that to the most sensuall which maye strike his prowd heart, so as he maye find somewhat to be amazed at, about which, whilst his imaginations busy themselves, they may beget further discourse and arguments of more and more goodnes.

O let heavy things tend to their centre; let light and ayery spiritts salute Heaven, and fly up to the circumference! That great and famous instrument of publishing the gospell and knowledge of Christ Jesus, Christopher Columbus, as also Vesputius Americus, who (five yeares after Columbus) arrived here, gave this whole country and ymmeasurable continent (which is, and maye well be called the New World for his greatnes, reaching from the one pole to the other, being devided by the streights of Magellane, where it endeth under fifty-two degrees on the south side of the equinoctiall lyne) his owne name, may teach us what progresse to make even in this glorious enterprise. The first of these opened the way to the Spaniard, who since hath fild both islands and mayne with the forme of their worship to God (I leave to saye how officious and superstitious), and the other as inflamed to doe some notable and Christian act, answered the other (a health yet unpledged by us unles we will now set to yt). Let the examples of these move us to advaunce (now opportunity is offred) our profession and faith, as Catholique, and more purged from self inventions. Have we either lesse meanes, fainter spiritts, or a charity more cold, or a religion more shamefull, and afrayd to delate ytself? or is yt a lawfull worke in them, and not in us, that yt is authorized unto them even by the warrant of the Church? Here Pope Alexander VI in his bull and donation to the Kings of Castile and their successors —

“Nos itaque hujusmodi vestrum sanctum et laudabile Propositum, plurimum in Domino commendantes, ei cupientes ut illud

Handwritten note:
 Health
 of
 S. P. C. K. M.

ad debitum finem perducatur, et ipsum Nomen Salvatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamus vos quamplurimum in Domino et per Sacri Lavacri susceptionem, qua mandatis Apostolicis obligati estis," etc.

Which is, "We, greatly comending this your godly and laudable purpose in our Lord, and desirous to have the same brought to a due end, and the name of our Saviour to be knowne in those parts, doe exhort you in our Lord, and by the receaving of the holy baptisme, wherby you are bound to apostolicall obedience, and earnestly require you, by the bowells of mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that when you intend, for the zeale of the Catholique faith, to prosecute the said expedition to reduce the people of the foresaid landes and islands to the Christian religion, you shall spare no labours at any tyme, or be deterred with any perrylls, conceaving firme hope and assuraunce that the omnipotent God will give good successe to your goodly attempts."

It is read that Themistocles hearing of the great victory that Melciades¹ had obtayned on the playne of Marathon, said, that that report would not lett him take any rest; and Julius Cæsar wept at the sight of Alexander's image (who had at the yeares of twenty-four obtayned the name of Great), and cryed out: "Am not I miserable, that have done nothinge worthy of memory, and yet this prince at these yeares hath executed so many notable thinges?" Shall these, for the smoake of momentary glory, breake out thus passionate and forward? and shall not we, for the glory of our God, be as affectionate and ambitious? Shall we now, when we know most the effects and perfection of goodnes (as the sun when he is highest in the zodiack moveth slowest), be dullest in our solstice and supremest height? [The glorious St. Augustine, in his firste booke, "De Concord. Evang.", cap. 32^o. goeth so far concerning the spreading abroad and teaching of our Saviour crucified, not only to the right, but to the leaft hand, as it is in the 54 of Esau², as he there amply discourseth how the ghospell should be published abroad, not only by those who sincerely, with true and perfect charity, assume the function of preachers, but

¹ i. e. Miltiades.

² i. e. Isaiah. See ch. liv, v. 1-10.

also by those that declare yt, tending to temporall endes ; and surely many powerfull and divine arguments might be extracted for this place, which he there at large persecuteth, which would confirme and speak satisfaction to the most sensuall : yf so, why then besides these alleaged divine motives, politique and rationall respects, even common trade and hope of profit might make us forward to be adventurers. Our country of Virginia hath no want of many marchandize (which we in England accomplish in Denmark, Norway, Prusia, Poland, etc.; fetch far, and buy deare) which aduance much, and assured increase, with lesse exchaung of our owne, with as few hazardes by sea, and which would maintaine as frequent and goodly a navie as what runs the Levant stage ; and those by divers treaties, both in Lattin and English, private and publike, have ben, in their particuler names and values oftentimes expressed, especyally that which hath bene published by that true lover of vertue and great learned professor of all arts and knowledges, Mr. Hariots,¹ who lyved there in the tyme of the first colony, spake the Indian language, searcht the country, and made many proufes of the richnes of the soyle, and commodites therof, besides many planters from thence, and right worthie marchants, and those knowen to be men of much belief and credit, have witnessed as much to the world, in these latter tymes, if men will give them stoage and welcome in their good opinions, and sett aside their owne overweenings and singularity to entertaine a truith, and out of those great plenties and havings (which God hath lent them to be his stewards here) be pleased to heare themselves entreated to spare but a little, little portion to the raising and building up of a *sanctum sanctorum*, a holy howse, and a sanctuary to his blessed name, amongst infidels ; placinge those therein on whome yt hath now pleased him both to be sufficiently revenged for their forefathers' ingratitude and treasons, and to descend in mercy to lighten [them] that sate in darknes, and in the shadowe of death, and to direct their feet in the waye of peace.

But perhappes there be those who will graunt that what they

¹ Thomas Hariot, or Harriot, mathematical tutor to Sir W. Raleigh, accompanied Sir Richard Grenville's expedition to Virginia in 1585, and drew up an account of his voyage, now very rare, printed 1590. f^o.

have read in those discourses delivered to the world may be true, but will they say, What open and actual injury shall we doe to the poore and innocent inhabitants to intrude upon them? I must aske them againe, In which shall we offer them injurye? for proffering them trade, or the knowledge of Christ? From one of these two or both the injury must proceede. Why? What injury can yt be to people of any nation for Christians to come unto their ports, havens, or territories, when the lawe of nations (which is the lawe of God and man (doth priviledge all men to doe soe, which admitts yt lawfull to trade with any manner of people, in so much as no man is to take upon him (that knoweth any thing) the defence of the salvages in this point, since the salvages themselves may not impugne or forbid the same, in respect of common fellowship and community betwix man and man; albeit I will not deny but that the salvages may (without peradventure) be ignorant of as much, and (alas) of more graces beside, and particularities of humanity, the reason whereof being, because (poor sowles) they knowe not the good which they stand in neede of; but we that are Christians doe knowe howe this lawe (enriching all kingdomes) gives priviledges to ambassadours, keeps the seas common and safe, layes open ports and havens, and allows free scales and liberal accesse for whosoever that will import unto them such commodities as their countreyes have, and they want; or export from them some of their plentye (duties and customes provincially observed). Yf this be so for the first, concerning the other yt may fully be answered with this demaund, shall yt not followe, if traffique be thus justifiable (which intended nothing but transitory profit and increase of temporall and worldly goodes) shall not plantinge the Christian faith be much more? Yes by how much the divine good (not subject to change, and under no alteration), excells, takes an accompt, and surveyes, and surpasseth all things, and all our actions are to bend their intentions thetherward; and what waye soever we make, yet miserable and wretched he whose every lyne he drawes, every act and thought doe not close and meete in the center of that. Alas, would we but truly examyne all, and the best of things, which the rownd eye of the sun lookes upon, what is the travell for all the pompe, the trea-

*Indian benefit from
English trade.*

*what man
trades.*

sure, the pleasure, and whatsoever belongeth to this lief, compared to the ritches of the sowle, the excellency wherof (if there were noe other proufe to confirme yt) ys sufficientlie sett fourth by the rich ransome that was paid for yt, even the pretious bloud of Jesus Christ. O our dull ignorance, depraved wills, or imperfection of reason, or all three, how doe yee transport us? who, when we should labour a wane and diminution of the most imposture, the most falce, and yet eye-pleasing objects of our carnall sences, not soe much as making out (after the least of them in poore Indian canoas), howe their godlike representations beguile us that we neclect all good things and (like English lords) pursue these on the streeme of delight, in swift barges? When let us heare the end of all, and som of all happines, saith St. John, chapt. vii, ver. 3, and that is, to knowe one only true God and Jesus Christ, whome He hath sent, who being the ever blessed and only wysdome of the Father, gives, amonge other commandments to his apostles, this,—“Goe and baptize all nations.” *Universa, enim propter semet ipsum operatus est Dominus.*—Pro. xvi. This worde and particle (all) infallibly and mathumatically concluding, then, even theis poore salvadges.

But yet it is injurious to the naturall inhabitants, still saye ours. Wherefore? It is because yt is, nowe indeede, a most doughtie and mat[er]iall reason, a great peice of injury to bring them (to invert our English proverb) out of the warme sun, into God's blessing; to bring them from bodily wants, confusion, misery, and these outward anguishes, to the knowledg of a better practize, and ymproving of those benefitts (to a more and ever duringe advantage, and to a civiler use) which God hath given unto them, but envolved and hid in the bowells and womb of their land (to them barren and unprofitable, because unknowne); nay, to exalt, as I may saie, meere privation to the highest degree of perfection, by bringing their wretched soules (like Cerberus, from hell) from the chaynes of Sathan, to the armes and bosome of their Saviour: here is a most impious piece of injury. Let me remember what Mr. Simondes, preacher of St. Saviour's, saith in this behalfe: It is as much, saith he, as if a father should be said to offer violence to his child, when he beats him to bring him to goodnesse. Had

*Answer in
that English
translation
you might
in the
version.*

not this violence and this injury bene offred to us by the Romans (as the warlike Scots did the same, likewise, in Caledonia, unto the Picts), even by Julius Cæsar himself, then by the emperour Claudius, who was therefore called Britannicus, and his captains, Aulus Plautius and Vespasian (who tooke in the Isle of Wight); and lastly, by the first lieutenant sent hither, Ostorius Scapula (as writes Tacitus in the lief of Agricola), who reduced the conquered partes of our barbarous iland into provinces, and established in them colonies of old souldiers; building castells and townes, and in every corner teaching us even to knowe the powerfull discourse of divine reason (which makes us only men, and distinguisheth us from beasts, amongst whome we lived as naked and as beastly as they). We might yet have lyved overgrownen satyrs, rude and untutred, wandring in the woodes, dwelling in caves, and hunting for our dynners, as the wild beasts in the forrests for their praye, prostetuting our daughters to straungers, sacrificing our childrene to idolls, nay, eating our owne childrene, as did the Scots in those daies, as reciteth Tho. Cogan, bachellor of phisick, in his booke,¹ De Sanitate, cha. 137, printed 1189, and dedicated to the Earle of Hertford; in which place he bringeth in St. Hierome himself, by way of Prosop[o]pæia, affirming soe much uppon his knowledg. His wordes, there alleged, are these: What shall I say, saith St. Jerom, of other nations, since that, when I was a boy, I saw, in Fraunce, Scotts, a people of Britannia, eate man's flesh; and when they found in the forrests, hearde of swine, beasts, and cattaile, they would cut off the buttocks of the boyes that kept them, and also the women's papps, and tooke that to be the most deinty and delicate meat; and, as the reverent Beda reports (before the Britons were converted to the ghospell), murtherring whole troups of men to accompanye and serve their friendes dying, in the other lief, as they did to the sondry Zemes³ in the West Indies, at what tyme

¹ The work alluded to was published under the title of "The Haven of Health," 1589—the figure 1 being mistakenly inserted above for 5. There is a copy of the work at Oriel College, Oxford. See Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses".

² See "Hieron. adversus Jovinianum", liber ii. "Epistolæ D. Hieronymi". Rom. 1565. Tom. ii, f. 50.

³ Idols, or gods, who were pretended to foretell future events. See "Peter Martyr", Dec. i, lib. ix, and "Oviedo", lib. v.

Columbus arrived there; and as they did in Peru and Mexico, at what tyme Ferdinando Cortez reduced them to the Christianity: and as the Quiyoughquisocks (or priests) doe to the idolls of the salvadges here, albeit I hope they will not long doe soe, yf by a gentle and faire entreaty we may win them to be willing to heare and learne of us and our preachers, the more civile use of every particular in which they nowe too rudely and beastly doe amisse.

All the injury that we purpose unto them, is but the amendment of these horrible heathenismes, and the reduction of them to the aforesaid manly duties, and to the knowledg (which the Romans could not give us) of that God who must save both them and us, and who bought us alike with a deare sufferance and pretious measure of mercy.

For the apter enabling of our selves unto which so heavenly an enterprise, who will thinck yt an unlawfull act to fortifie and strengthen our selves (as nature requires) with the best helpes, and by sitting downe with guardes and forces about us in the wast and vast unhabited growndes of their[s], amongst a world of which not one foote of a thousand doe they either use, or knowe howe to turne to any benefit; and therefore lyes so great a circuit vayne and idle before them? Nor is this any injurye unto them, from whome we will not forceably take of their provision and labours, nor make rape of what they clense and manure; but prepare and breake up newe growndes, and therby open unto them likewise a newe waye of thrift or husbandry; for as a righteous man (according to Solomon) ought to regard the lief of his beast, so surely Christian men should not shew themselves like wolves to devoure, who cannot forget that every soule which God hath sealed for himself he hath done yt with the print of charity and compassion; and therefore even every foote of land which we shall take unto our use, we will bargain and buy of them, for copper, hatchetts, and such like comodities, for which they will even sell themselves, and with which they can purchase double that quantity from their neighbours; and thus we will commune and entreate with them, truck, and barter, our comodities for theirs, and theirs for ours (of which they seeme more faine) in all love and freindship, untill, for our good purposes towards them, we shall finde them practize vio-

lence or treason against us (as they have done to our other colony at Roanoak) : when then, I would gladly knowe (of such who presume to knowe all things), whether we maye stand upon our owne innocency or no, or hold yt a scruple in humanitye, or any breach of charity (to prevent our owne throats from the cutting), to drawe our swordes, *et vim vi repellere* ?

Planting (saith Sir George Peckam,¹ writing an apologye in the like cause) may well be divided into two sorts, when Christians, by the good liking and willing assent of the salvadges, are admitted by them to quiett possession ; and when Christians, being inhumanely repulsed, doe seeke to attayne and mayntayne the right for which they come, in regard of establishment of Christian religion, either of them maye be lawfully exercyzed ; for what soever God, by the ministration of nature, hath created on earth, was, at the beginning, common among men ; may yt not then be lawfull now
to attempt the possession of such lands as are voide of Christian
inhabitants, for Christ's sake ? Harke, harke, the earth is the Lord's, and all that is therein.

And all the world he will call and provoke,
Even from the east, and so forth to the west.

As it is in the 50 psalme, where David prophesieth how God will call all nations by the gospell, and in the 12 verse :

For all is myne that on the earth doth dwell.

And who shall bar him from his possession ? In the second booke of Esdras, the 6 chap., 14 ver., saith the prophet : " And besides this Adam, whome thou madest lord over all the workes which thou hadst created ; of him come we all." And in the Newe Testament, Paule, calling himself the apostle of the Gentiles, in the 11 of the Romans, 32 ver., saith, that God hath shut up all in unbelief, that he might have mercy on all ; yet, in another place of the same epistle, he saith : " And how shall they call on him

¹ Sir George Peckham, in an anonymous work entitled "True Reporte of the late Discoveries and Possession taken in the right of the Crown of Englande, of the New-found-landes, by that valiaunt and worthy gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight". By G. P. London. 1583. 8vo. Chap. 2.

bel. justifications of
colonization. & Peckham

in whome they have not beleaved, and how shall they beleeeve in him on whome they have not heard?" and therefore, he concludeth : " O, how beautifull are the feet of them which bring glad tidings of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!" and in the third of Sophonias¹ : " The children of my disperged" (so he calleth the apostles) " shall bring me presents from beyond the banckes of Æthiopia." Besides (omittinge the peregrination of Paule, and the travells of Barnabas, into so many straunge countries, islands, and kingdomes, of the Gentiles, laboring in this office, and reducing so many cittyes of theires to the knowledg of Christ crucified, in Grecia, in Pisidia, Pamphilia, Perga, Attalia, in Asia, and Syria, insomuch as Antioch was come to be called, at length, the newe cittye, and Jerusalem of the Gentiles : as also omittinge the vision which Peter saw in Joppa, of a vessell, as it had bene a great sheet, let downe from heaven by the four corners, in which were four footed beasts of the earth, wilde beasts, creepinge things, and fowles of the heaven, with the voice which accompanied yt, saying, " Arise, Peter, slay and eate;" and this done three tymes, forbiddinge him to accompt those things polluted or uncleane (meaninge the Gentiles), which God had sanctified and made holy ; and let me remember, which is worth all observation, and to be bound to the palmes of our hands, and to be written uppon the lyntells and brow posts of all our dores, for the encouragement and comfort of us, who are imprest in this service ; yt is one of our daily petitions, which we are taught by our blessed Saviour, when we pray, and of that quality as when we have first entreated grace to esteeme, valewe, and honour God, according as he ought to be, both in wordes and works, as also in our holy and Christian conversacion, for so much signifieth " Hallowed be thy Name," we presently add, "Thy kingdome come," which ymplieth, that it would please the great and mercyfull God that his sacred word might have a powerfull passage throughout the world ; yea, in such sort that all nations might be reduced to the kingdome of grace, and made partakers of their redemption ; nor must we ymagine that this is nowe to be done by myracle, for which it is thus foresaid by Esay² in his

¹ Zephaniah, chap. iii, v. 10.

² Isaiah.

66 chap.,—"Those which shall escape out of Israell shall goe farr off to Tharsis and to the remote islands, where they shall convert many nations unto the Lord, and therefore is Christ called the salvation of nations (Gen. 4, Esay 7), there being no other name under heaven unto men whereby to be saved, but only this of Christ's" (Acts 4). And in the Old Testament we shall read, when strange and great nations would not submitt to the yoaque of this knowledge of the everlasting God by faire entreaty, they were, *ferro et flammis*, compelled thereunto. In Josua and the Judges plentifull instances adhere to the making of this good: there is to be seene how Moses, Josua, and Gedion would send spies and discoverers for the like purposes (*misit igitur Joshue filius Nun de Setim duos viros exploratores in abscondito, et dixit eis, Ite et considerate terram urbemque Jericho.*—Jos. 2) into kingdoms, nations, and provinces, and thereafter beseiged their townes and strong howldes; and when the Gentiles would not call for mercy, they would lay waste and burne their chief citties: so fell Jericho, and so was Ai surprised, the inhabitants slayne, and their kinge hanged up. Read the 12 chapter, and you shall find a catalogue of 31 kings and great princes of the hethen put to the edge of the sword, whilst the Gibionites, intreating by ambassadours, were taken into proteccion, and admitted into the colonye of the Israelites, and yet made their servants, and fetch-waters.

And thus these few and unskilfull scænes, but scænes of truith, brought to this act, they shall suffice to begett a setteled opinion of goodnes, and of the right of this busines, in any who hath heretofore doubted, appealing to impartiall judgments wheather the Kinge of Spaine hath priority of title to this part of America before the English; nay, whether he hath any coulour of title by this at all? or whether this enterprize be an unchristian acte, or injury to the naturalls? and if neither, whether their Epiphonema¹ deserves just showt and applause, whoe declare yt unlawfull, and an unnaturall busines, and to God displeasinge.

¹ Outcry.

HISTORIE OF TRAVAILE

INTO

VIRGINIA BRITANNIA.

CAPUT I.

The Cosmographie of Virginia ; latitude and bounds ; extention upon a right lyne ; first division—the quality of the mountaynes, and description of the high land ; subdivided ; her temperature, wynds, soyle, valies, plaines, marishes, etc.

VIRGINIA BRITANNIA is a country in America ; yt lyeth ^{Virginia how bounded.} betweene the degrees of 30 and 44 of the north latitude ; the bowndes whereof may well be thus layd : on the east runneth the great ocean, or mayne Atlantique Sea ; on the south side, Florida ; on the north, Nova Francia ; as for the west, the lymitts thereof are unknowne, only it is supposed there maye be found the discent into the South Sea, by the Spaniards called Mar del zur, so meeting with the doubtfull north-west passage, which leades into the east, to China, Cathay, Giapan, the Moluccaes, etc., now ymaged to be discovered by our countryman Hudson, and therefore, for the more certainty therof, the search anew this presente yeare,¹ undertaken by Capt. Button, Capt. Nelson, and Capt.

² albeit, there be who affirme that if there should be a third land-locked sea, which hath no enter-

¹ 1612.

² The omitted name is Ingram. Captain Ingram commanded the Discovery, in company with Captain Button. Nelson was master of the Resolution, Captain Button's ship.

Anian the
north-
western
streit in
the height of
supposed to
joyne Asia
and America
together.

course at all with the ocean (like the Mare Caspium, and Mare Mortuum in Palestina), yt lieth upon the north-west of America; when yet againe Gemma Frisius recordeth¹ three brethren that went this passage, and left a name unto the Streights of Anian, where the sea striketh sowth into Mar-del-zur, beyond America, whereby that streit is nowe called *Fretum trium fratrum*: we doe reade, likewise, of a Portugal that passed this streit, of whom Sir Martin Furbisher speaketh, that was imprisoned therefore many yeares in Lishbon, likewise Anordaneta,² a frier of Mexico, came out of Mar del zur this way into Germany, whose card hath ben seene by gentlemen of good credit.

How
Virginia
extendeth
upon a
right lyne.

It is a spations and ample tract of land; from north to south, upon a right lyne, yt maye be seven hundred myles; from east to west (in the narrowest place) supposed some three hundred myles, and in other places one thousand; a sufficient space, and ground ynough to satisfie the most covetous and wide affection of him whoe frames to himself any other end, then the only true one, of this plantation.

Her
division.

Of all this country (in due place) we purpose to speake, though more particularly of that parte which was begun to be planted by the English in the yeare of our Lord God, 1606, and which may lye under the degrees of 37, 38, and 39, and which part devided may well suffer (with Germany) the appellation of the High and Low Country, from the mouthe of the Chesapeak Bay up to the head of the rivers, all of which I call Virginia, as the high land about the falls (as yet undiscovered), beinge the mayne continent, I call Britania; nor doe I holde this partition lesse proper, or

Country—
high, low.

¹ See "Hakluyt", vol. iii, p. 26, (Ed. 1600), from which this passage is copied, with very slight alterations. Reinier Gemma was a learned Dutch mathematician and astronomer, born in 1508, at Doccum, in Friesland, whence his cognomen of Frisius. The record alluded to, is his "Universal Mappe".

² i. e., Andrew Urdaneta.

more impertinent unto this kingdome, then England, Scotland, and Wales is to Great Britany; or Aquitania, Celtica, and Belgia to France; or to Spayne and Portugal, Castile and Arragon.

Concerning the high-land little can we say as yet, because thereof little have we discovered; only some Indians' relations and some few daies' marches into the Monocan country of our owne, have instructed us thus far.

This high land, or Britannia, then, say we, is the mayne and firme continent, which extendeth, we wot not how far, beyond that cataract or fall of water, which the Indians call Paquachowng,¹ from whence one daie's journey into the Monocan country. Our elder planters (at their first coming) proclaymed His Majestie king of the country at Mohominge (a neighbour village), and sett up a crosse there with His Majestie's name inscribed thereon, the said falls being one hundred and fifty myles up from the mouth of the bay, and where the current there at his head falleth, with an easye discent, three or four fathome downe into the low contry.

Description of the high land about the falls.

From the falls our men have heretofore marched (as the river led them) about forty or fifty miles, and fownd the high land woody, little champion,² with rising hills, rocky and mountanous, and so all along from the north, by a sowth-west lyne, in so much as the more so-ward the further off from the bay are those mountaynes; from them fall certaine brooks, which after come to be five principall navigable rivers,³ these run from the nor-west into the so-est, and so into the west side of the bay, as hasting themselves to empye into the bay, to paye their tribute to the ocean.

The fall of every river is within 20 or 15 miles one of another.

The mountaines here at the head are of divers natures, for

The mountaynes.

¹ The falls at Richmond, about one hundred and ten miles from the mouth of the James River.

² Champaign.

³ Now called James River, York River, Rappahannock, Potomac, and Patuxent Rivers.

the rocks are of a constitution like milstones; some of a blew metalline colour, some of marble, etc.; and many pieces of scattered cristall we find, as throwne downe by water from the mountaines; for in wynter these mountaines are covered with snow, and when yt dissolveth, the waters fall with such violence that they cause great inundacions in the narrowe vallies, which yet is scarce perceaved, being oute in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistering tinctures, that the grownd in some places seemeth as gilded, where both the rocks and the earth are so splendant to behold, that very good judgments would perhaps be perswaded they conteyned more then probabilities. Sure it is that some mineralls have ben there found.

∞ This high land is, in all likelyhoodes, a pleasant tract, and the mowld fructfull, especially what may lye to the so-ward; where, at Peccarecamek and Ochanahoen, by the relation of Machumps,¹ the people have howses built with stone walles, and one story above another, so taught them by those Englishe whoe escaped the slaughter at Roanoak, at what tyme this our colony, under the conduct of Capt. Newport,² landed within the Chesapeake Bay, where the people breed up tame turkeis about their howses, and take apes in the mountaines, and where, at Ritanoë, the Weroance Eyanoco³ preserved seven of the English alive—fower men, two boyes, and one yonge mayde (who escaped and fled up the river of Chanoke), to beat his copper, of which he hath certaine mynes at the said Ritanoë, as also at Pamawauk are said to be store of salt stones. 1000

Howses of
stone, tame
turkeyes and
monkeyes,
supposed
at Peccart-
canick.

Pokotawes, which the West Indians (our neighbours) call maiz, their kind of wheat, is here said to be in more plentie

¹ An Indian subsequently mentioned.

² In 1607, Captain Newport sailed in command of a squadron of three vessels, with one hundred and ten settlers, and reached Chesapeake Bay in April of that year. He founded James's Town,—the oldest settlement, with the exception of St. Augustine, in the United States.

³ Commander, or governor, as hereafter described.

then below, and the low country fruitcs grow here. It is supposed that the low land hath more fish and fowle, and the high land more number of beasts. The people differ not much in nature, habit, or condicion, only they are more daring uppon us ; and before we erected our forts amongst them, there was ever enmity, and open warrs, betweene the high and lowe country, going by the names of Monocans and Powhatans.

To the norward of the Falls, and bending to the nor-east, lieth the skirt of this high land country, from whence the aforesaid five great navigable rivers take their heads, which run through the low land (as is before mencyned) into the Chesapeack Bay ; this quarter is altogither unknowen to us as yet, only herein are seated (say the Indians) those people whom Powhatan calls the Bocootawwonaukes, who (he saith) doe likewise melt copper and other mettalls ; how true we must leave to further discovery.

The Bocootawwonaukes melt copper.

To the nor-ward againe of this, in the height of 44, lyeth the country called Panaquid, the kingdome wherein our westerne colony, uppon the river of Sachadehock,¹ was sometye planted, which is a high land, and noe lesse fruitfull then these other parts, save only the extremity of the winter's coldness makes yt lesse pleasant ; yet did our men, in their yll built and bleake cottages, endure one whole wynter there, without any great losse or danger ; nor is it more cold then the winter in Scotland ; and therefore, though that colonye be now discontinued, yet is not yt the reason, but rather the death of the honorable gentleman, Sir John Popham, knight, late lord chief justice, chief patron of the same.

Panaquid in the height of 44.

Now concerning the low land, or Virginia, which bordereth west and nor-west, uppon the Falls, and the country of the Monacans and north uppon the Bocootawwanaukes, east uppon the sea, and south uppon Florida, yt may well enough be

Division of the low country.

¹ The Kennebeck River, where a plantation, named St. George, was founded in 1607, under the presidency of Raleigh Gilbert and George Popham, brother of Sir John, the Lord Chief Justice. Both of these brothers died in the year 1607.

devided into South Virginia and North Virginia, the Chesapoack Bay and Powhatan River parting these twoo.

Cape
Henry.

The cape of this bay, on the south side, we call Cape Henry, in honour of that our most royall deceased prince, where the land shewes white hilly sand, like unto the Downes, and all along the shoare growe great plenty of pines and firrs.

Cape
Charles.

The north foreland of this bay, which the Indians terme Accowmack, we call Cape Charles, in honor of our now prince, at that time Duke of York: within these lyes our country, and only by the mouthe of this goodly bay the entrance thereunto.

South
Virginia.

South Virginia is a very low, sandy soyle, without rocks, or any stones at all; yt is thick sett with woodes of divers kindes, and in all things resembleth North Virginia, excepted the lownesse of the land and want of stones; yt hath divers rivers in yt, but none navigable to our knowledge; yt hath many islands, which lie into the sea before the firme land, but the water is not deepe for shippinge betweene them and the mayne. Yt is said to have of the same silke whereof the Chynoes make their damaske, called by the Portugalls' *sone del cherua*, in great aboundaunce, and sondry apothecary druggs, which are nowe found likewise as frequent in our north parte; it is a fruitfull countrey, and not much subject to cold; in this country it was that Sir Walter Raleigh planted his two colonies, in the islande aforesaid, called Roanoack.

Roanoak not
under the
commaund
of Powha-
tan: vide
lib. 2.

No parte of this sowth country is supposed to be under Powhatan, but under an absolute Weroance, as powerfull and great as Powhatan. It shall not fall in here so well at large to particulate the bowndes, estate, customes, and comodities

! These words are not Portuguese; nor, as the "del" might at first lead us to suppose, are they Spanish. The best conjecture the editor can make is, that as allusion is doubtless made to the silk-grass of the country, the word "cherua" is a mis-spelling for "yerba", Spanish; or "erba", Portuguese: the word "sone" is to him utterly unintelligible. The same words, without any alteration, occur in the duplicate MS. in the Ashmolean collection at Oxford.

of this south parte, since yt shal be exemplified in his due place in the second booke of this Decade, as yt is already sett forth and expressed to publike viewe, both in English and Latyn, by Theodorus de Bry¹ and Mr. Harriotts, who was a planter there one whole yeare; albeyt I must acknowledg the coleraunce of both the cuntryes is such, as the relation of the one maie suffice to give understanding of the condicion and quality of both.

North Virginia lyeth on the north side of Powhatan, or the first river within the Chesapeak Bay (which we have called the King's River),² up to the Falls,³ and from thence by the skirt of the high land, by the heades of the rivers, even to our mayne sea, upon the northerne shoare of the which said King's River (as London upon the Thames) are seated as yet our principall townes and forts, which are in chief commaunded by their great kinge Powhatan, and are comprehended under the denomination of Tsenacommacoh, of which we maye the more by experience speak, yt being the place wherein our aboad and habitation hath now (well neere) 11⁴ yeares consisted.

The sommer here is hot as in Spaine, the winter cold as in Fraunce or England; the heate of the sommer is in June, July, and August, but comonly the cool breezes asswage the vehemency of the heat; the chief of winter is half December, January, February, and half March.

The temperature of this country doth well agree with the English constitucions, being sometymes seasoned in the same,

North
Virginia
Britania.

The tem-
perature.

Not under,
or too near,
the
Tropicks.

¹ A celebrated engraver, born at Liege in 1561, died in 1623. He is especially known for his famous collection of "Grands et Petits Voyages", Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1590-1634; 25 parts, folio, with valuable plates, some of which are used by Hariot to illustrate his "Briefe and true Report of the new found land of Virginia".

² James River.

³ Falls at Richmond.

⁴ In the manuscript, the word "six" was originally written, but has been crossed out, and two strokes, thus "11", inserted, in a darker coloured ink.

which hath appeared unto us by this, that albeyt, by many occasions, ill lodging at the first (the poorer on the bare ground, and the best in such miserable cotages at the best, as through which the fervent piercing heat of the sun, which there (it is true) is the first cause, creating such sommer fevers amongst them, found never resistance) hard fare, and their owne judgments and safteties instructing them to worke hard in the faint tyme of sommer, (the better to be accomodated and fitted for the wynter,) they have fallen sick, yet have they recovered agayne, by very small meanes, without helpe of fresh diet, or comfort of wholesome phisique, there being at the first but few phisique helpes, or skilfull surgeons, who knew how to apply the right medecine in a new country, or to search the quality and constitution of the patient, and his distemper, or that knew how to counsell, when to lett blood, or not, or in necessity to use a lance in that office at all.

In the year 1607 was an extraordinary frost in most of Europe, and this frost was found as extreme in Virginia; but the next yeare following, and so ever since hitherto, for 8 or 10 dayes of ill weather, we have comonly 14 daies of faire and somerly weather.

The
wyndes.

The wyndes here are variable: from the so-west come the greatest gusts, with thunder and heat; the nor-west wind is commonly coole, and bringeth faire weather with it: from the north is the greatest cold; and from the east and south-east (as from the Bermudas) foggs and raines; some tymes there are great droughts, other tymes much rayne; yet we see not but that all the variety of needfull fruits and vegetables, which we transport from hence and plant there, thrive and prosper well, of which husbandry and thrift we have made many experiments, and they stand us nowe in noe little use, having plentye of them; there is not that seed or hearb which our country here, by manuring and culture, bring forth, but doe there growe likewise quickly, and to no changeable tast from their nature,—nay, to better then in England,

Our Eng-
lish fruites
and seedes
prosper in
Virginia.

—as parsenips, carrotts, turnips, pumpions, mellons, cowcumbers, etc., and many of our English garden seedes—parsley, endiff, socory,¹ etc.¹ There hath bene brought from the West Indies the plants of orange trees, which, put into the ground carelesly and neglected, have yet prospered; as also the vines of Fraunce, tobacco-seed from Trinidado, cotton, wool, and potatoes, we have committed to the triall of our soyle, and they yerely come to good passe; the rootes of the delicious Indian pina, sett in a sandy place, thrived, and contynued life, without respect had of yt, untill the cold wynter and the weedes choaked yt; yet is this fruiet said to be dainty, nice, and of that nature, that noe art or industry hath be found out hitherto that could preserve yt in any clymate but in the West Indie Islands only. For the likelyhood of growing of sugar-canes, we have some probable hopes, by reason of the greatnes and sweetnes of the stalke of the country wheat, and the soile being aromaticall, as I may speake, by the *saxafras*, *galbanum mechoacon*, otherwise called *rubarbum album*, of which Dr. Bohun made triall in cold and moist bodies, for the purginge of fleame and superfluous matter; as also a whit bole, which Dr. Bohun calls *Terra alba Virginensis*, both aromaticall, and cordiall, and diapharetick, in pestilent and malignant feavers; and some other druggs; it can be but some litle tyme industriously spent to make tryall of this soe rich comoditye.

Tobacco,
cotton wool,
potatoes,
pinas,
oranges,
French
vynes.

Hope of the
growth of
sugar canes.

The vesture of the earth, in most places, doth manifestly prove the nature of the soyle, in most places, to be lusty and very rich; the coulour of the earth, we find, in dyvers places, resembleth bole armoniack, fullers' earth, marle, and that earth which we suppose of the like quality with the Lemnian *terra sigillata*, soe pricefull and marchantable in Turkey; as, likewise, there is a clay which the Indians call *assesqueth*,²

The soyle.

¹ Chicory.

² This is probably the same clay as that now called *Catlinite*, from the celebrated traveller, George Catlin, who presented the only three pieces known in this country, to the British Museum.

whereof they make their tobacco pipes, which is more smooth and fyne then I have ellswere seene any. But generally the earth upon the upper crust, is a black fatt mould; next, under that, is a gray sandy marle, which, in dyvers places, is a redd sand, and in other places, a hard clay; in some places, a fatt slimye clay; but the best ground is knowne by burthen which it beareth, as by the greatness of trees or abundance of weedes.

The val-
leyes.

Playnes.

Marishes.

This part is not mountanous; we sometyme meet with pleasant plaines, small risinge hills, and firtile vallies, one crossing another, and all watered conveniently with brookes and springs. By the rivers are many plaine marishes, con- teyning, some twenty, some one hundred, some two hundred acres, some more, some lesse; other playnes there are few, but only where the salvages inhabite, but all overgrowne with trees and woodes, being a plaine wildernes, as God first ordeyned yt.

A digres-
sion, giving
likelihoods
that Vir-
ginia be-
neath the
falls to have
binn sea
heretofore

All the low land of South and North Virginia is conjectured to have bene naturally gayned out of the sea; for the sea, through his impetuous and vast revolution (who knowes not), savinge upon every coast, in some places wyns, and in other places looseth; and we find within the shoares of our rivers, whole bancks of oysters and scalloppe, which lye unopened and thick together, as if there had bene their naturall bedd before the sea left them; likewise, the fashion of the earth is in smale risinge mounts, which may well be supposed that the violence of the wynd hath cawsed, by dryving the light sand together; moreover, the mould and sword of the earth is not two foot deepe all along neare the sea; and that which is, comes only by the grasse, and leaves of trees, and such rubbish, rotting upon it in contynuanee of time; for in digging but a fathome or two, we commonly find quick sand. Againe, under the crust of the surface, we find not any stones nor rocks (except neere the high land), naie, in most places to soward, not so much as a pebble-stone, which must